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ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

Sir Matthew Hale, Kn.t

London: Published by R.Wilkes, Duncery Lane, March 30, 1806.

THE

WORKS,

Moral and Religious,

OF

Sir MATTHEW HALE, Knt.

LORD CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE COURT OF KING'S BENCH:

THE WHOLE NOW FIRST COLLECTED AND REVISED.

TO WHICH ARE PREFIXED

HIS LIFE AND DEATH,

BY BISHOP BURNET, D.D.

AND

AN APPENDIX TO THE LIFE,

Including the ADDITIONAL NOTES *of* RICHARD BAXTER.

BY THE REV. T. THIRLWALL, M. A.

EDITOR OF THE LATIN AND ENGLISH DIATESSARONS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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1805.

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TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

JOHN, LORD ELDON,

BARON ELDON,

OF ELDON, IN THE COUNTY PALATINE OF CHESTER,

Lord High Chancellor of Great-Britain,

&c. &c.

MY LORD,

THE following Works are the production of a MAN of whom the Learned Profession has reason to boast. His piety and virtue, his learning and labors, reflected a lustre on the exalted station he filled, and have stamped on his memory the veneration and esteem of impartial posterity. Your Lord-

ship will not be unwilling that YOUR NAME should be inscribed on the same roll with that of Sir MATTHEW HALE. Under a persuasion that he would, with reciprocal pleasure, acknowledge My LORD ELDON, these Works, WITH PERMISSION, are dedicated to your Lordship,

By your Lordship's most humble,

And obedient Servant,

THOMAS THIRLWALL.

Mile-End, March 30, 1805.

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ERRATA.

Vol. I.—p. 71, *read* as a Note — Even the party whom he decided against were satisfied with the equity of his decision.
p. 166, line 8, *for* do, *read* does.
——— — 9, *for* render, *read* renders.
p. 167, — 8, *for* intelligencer, *read* intelligence.
p. 304, —15, *see note*, vol. ii. p. 138.
Vol. II.—p. 141, — 6, *after* God, *see note*.

PRE-

PREFACE.

THE public are now presented, for the first time, with a Collection of the Moral and Religious Treatises of Sir MATTHEW HALE, whose professional learning, indefatigable labors, and exemplary piety, ranked him amongst the brightest ornaments of his time. It may afford matter for surprise, that the productions of an author so justly celebrated, should have been so long permitted to lie in a scattered and neglected state. The veneration and esteem in which the Learned Profession deservedly holds the memory of this renowned Judge, has induced it to publish those works which fall within its peculiar province. It is high time for the Friends of Religion to follow this example, and rescue from oblivion those memorials of practical piety and sound morality, which he has left behind.

All which remain of this description will be found in the two following volumes, with the exception of two Works; the one entitled "A Discourse of the Knowledge of God,

and Ourselves;" the other "The Primitive Origination of Mankind." The omission of these arises not either from an unfavourable opinion of their intrinsic worth, or an unwillingness to add them to the present Collection. Should the public express a wish for their appearance, they shall be published at a future opportunity, in a separate volume, which will render the present undertaking uniform and complete.

To prepare the reader for the full benefit he may expect to receive from their perusal, I have introduced him to an acquaintance with the life and character of Hale, from the pen of Bishop Burnet, who has drawn the portrait of the venerable Judge, in the colours of truth and simplicity.

"[1] In the life of Sir Matthew Hale, we do not merely see a character improved and adorned by the Christian graces and virtues, but we behold Christianity itself substantially exemplified. We see its power to "convert the soul," in that radical change which it effects in the youth; while every subsequent action of the man concurs to prove that the ideal character of wisdom,

[1] See the Preface to "Burnet's Lives and Characters," &c. printed at Dublin, 1804.

which

which some ancient philosophers described as the mark to be aimed at, though without any hope of attainment, is, in all its valuable features, actually realized in the true Christian.

"What but Christianity could have given to Judge Hale that uniform ascendancy over every thing selfish and secular, by means of which he so undeviatingly kept the path of pure heroic virtue, as to be alike looked up to and revered by parties and interests the most opposite to each other? Is there in human history any fact more extraordinary, than that the Advocate of Strafford and Laud, and of King Charles, (had leave been given for pleading) should be raised to the Bench by Cromwell; and again, that a Judge of Cromwell's, should be not only reinstated by Charles II. but compelled by him, against his own will, to accept of the very highest judicial trust? Such is the triumph of genuine Christianity!—a triumph which is in some degree rewarded, whenever the name of Hale is even professionally repeated; since the appeal is evidently made not more to the authority of the Judge, than to the integrity of the man. If Burnet had never written

written more than the life of Sir Matthew Hale, this alone would have entitled him to the gratitude of the Christian world; there being no work of the kind better worth the study, whether of the professional or private man—of all who would truly learn how to live, or how to die."

Though Burnet has furnished a large proportion of useful information and agreeable entertainment, he has not exhausted his subject, but left unnoticed many important events and curious incidents which diversify the life of this extraordinary man. The 'Additional Notes of Richard Baxter,' whom he honoured with his intimate friendship and affectionate regard, will still heighten those sentiments which the pages of Burnet are calculated to excite. The Judge will there be contemplated in the interesting scene of literary ease and unrestrained friendship; and a near and intimate view will be discovered of his natural disposition, and the peculiar bent of his mind, adapted to exalt our opinion of his learning, his abilities, his industry, and his piety.

Short notices of some distinguished characters, incidentally mentioned by Burnet,

and

and Baxter, are subjoined, for amusement, or illustration of the subject.

In undertaking a work of this importance, it might be expected of me to look round and inquire for such further materials as could be found, to convey a still clearer and more distinct representation of the life and character of Hale. I have endeavoured to answer this natural expectation, nor have my researches been unsuccessful. The materials which I have been able to collect, I have digested and arranged under the title of "an Appendix to his Life and Death, by Burnet." It will appear that the diligent inquiries of Burnet were not rewarded with a full discovery of the channels of information. I have taken up the links which he dropped, and connected the chain of the narrative; or, if I might borrow an allusion of the illustrious Judge, have added "certain lines and strokes" which are intended at least to give a greater finish to the picture. This part of the work, for the execution of which I am responsible, whatever may be its imperfections, is submitted to the candor and indulgence of the reader. Permit me to assure him, my exertions have not been spared to com-

communicate both pleasure and instruction, whilst I have religiously kept in view a regard to historical truth. How large a portion of time and pains the collection of these comparatively few materials has cost me, it is useless to detail. If I may have the good fortune to merit his approbation, I shall consider myself to have received an ample recompense.

The distinct and independent subjects upon which the treatises of the first volume are written, rendered it a point of less solicitude in what precise order they should be arranged. That which I deemed the most important is allowed its claim to precedence.

The Contents will be found to exhibit a pleasing and interesting specimen of the versatility of talents, the activity of mind, and the warmth of devotion, which so eminently characterized our author. Whatever fell within the sphere of a Christian, he caught with ardour, and explored with perseverance. With a simplicity of style, a perspicuity of ideas, and a luminous arrangement of the subject, peculiar to himself, Hale evolves its difficulties, enlightens the understanding, and improves the heart.

His

His firm conviction of the truth of religion, and his inextinguishable zeal for its interests, formed the active principle of his life. It was this master-spring which guided his pen and animated every sentence. Hence will be found that evangelical seriousness which breathes through every page; hence the immediate consecration of his subjects to the advancement of his Redeemer's Kingdom, and the immortal happiness of man. Under all the variety and discrimination of characters, in which he recommends himself to our notice, whether as the subtle dialectician; the enlightened philosopher; the affectionate parent; the blessed peace-maker; the prudent citizen; or the ardent philanthropist; he still maintains the pre-eminence of the Christian, and sheds over each the warmth and effulgence of evangelical piety.

[1] Most of his writings, of a religious kind, were not originally intended for publication. His primary motive for committing his thoughts to paper, was the promotion of his own spiritual advantage. He possessed the rare and happy talent of performing

[1] For some of the following circumstances, I am indebted to the original Prefaces.

much

small importance, when brought in competition with the *principles* which gave birth to his writings, and stimulated him to those great and generous acts which immortalized his name. If his mind had not been strongly imbued with the principles of religion, and influenced by the prospects of immortality, it is scarcely credible that one, whose time was devoted to pursuits of so different a complexion for six days together, could, upon the seventh, have withdrawn his mind from his professional, and applied it so devoutly to theological labors.

The studies which he commenced in his early days, he prosecuted to the latest period at which his infirmities would permit him to hold his pen, within a fortnight or three weeks before he died. In exploring the difficult points of religion, as of the law, he spared neither pains nor cost, upon any means which conduced to the discovery and manifestation of the admirable Providence of God, whether in the composure, powers, and course of nature, or in the government of the actions of men. As much time as he dedicated to the study and practice of the law, and business not of an ordinary Judge, but of a Chief Baron and Chief Justice,

tice, yet the time he employed in the prosecution of his theological studies would be found, upon a just computation, to exceed it.

The effect which they produced on the mind of Hale himself was truly beneficial. A frequent and pious contemplation of the wisdom, the power, and goodness of God, discernible in his creatures, and in the providential government of men, especially that stupendous mystery of our Redemption by Jesus Christ, imprinted on his soul an enlarged apprehension and deep sense of the glorious excellence and majesty of God, and his abundant goodness to men. This filled his comprehensive mind with awful reverence and devout affection to Him; inspired a constancy, a faithfulness, and readiness in His service, and converted his secular into the nature of religious employments. With a heart ever disposed to receive the benign influences of the spirit, he maintained a full confidence in his God; and, by constant habit, made it natural to him to retire into himself with secret aspirations to heaven, in the midst of his civil avocations. By this course of devotion, his life

acquired the character of holy and heavenly, and yielded him that portion of comfort which the wicked are strangers to, and can neither give nor take away.

The fruits of his studies are almost incredible[1], for which he was admirably qualified by a happy combination of natural endowments. But yet the Christian believer will attribute the success which crowned his labours to an extraordinary blessing from heaven, as the reward of exemplary piety, and an habitual address to the Throne of Grace; of a religious observance and employment of times set apart for sacred uses; of a conscientious application to his learned and honourable profession, and its uniform subserviency to the interests of religion and the promotion of human happiness.

Of the two Discourses which begin this volume, the *Brief Extract of the Christian Religion* was one of his later writ-

[1] "When I came," says Mr. Erskine, "to see all the manuscripts of my Lord Hale, (whose name will live to all time) which I was favoured with by a learned gentleman at the bar, Mr. Hardinge, it is astonishing what his manuscripts are in his own hand, scarcely legible, yet containing the most valuable remarks upon the law of England." See Hardy's Trial.

ings;

ings; *The Cleansing of the Heart*, one of his more ancient; neither of which was finished by the author.

His *Letters*, for the first time, are collected and printed together.

The *Three Discourses of Religion* were published by his friend and admirer, Richard Baxter, who dedicated them to the "Honourable the Judges." Baxter annexed to this treatise the Judgment of Sir Francis Bacon, and an extract from Dr. Barrow on the subject. It is proper to remark, that these Discourses have been printed under a different title, which led Wood [1] to conclude they were two distinct works. In Baxter's edition, it is distinguished by the title of "His Judgment of the Nature of True Religion, the Causes of its Corruption, and the Church's Calamity by Men's Additions and Violences, with the desired Cure."

The tract of *Doing as we would be done unto*, though sufficiently distinct, seems to have been intended for the continuation of another work; and might, with propriety, be joined to his *Discourse of the Knowledge of God and Ourselves*.

[1] Wood's Athen. Oxon.

His own Prefaces will best explain the purport and use of the two Treatises which conclude the volume. Perhaps the last, *viz. Provision for the Poor*, will be thought the least interesting. It is, however, but short, and though upon a local subject, and adapted to the particular circumstances of his native spot, is founded in principles which have engaged the attention and exercised the abilities of the philanthropist in all ages, and cannot fail to gratify the curiosity of those who wish to learn the sentiments of so great a man upon a topic which involves the happiness of a large portion of suffering humanity.

Some of the Tracts in the First Volume were written for the press; but the *Contemplations, Moral and Divine*, which compose the Second Volume, were published not only in their native primogenial simplicity, but even without his knowledge: these, accordingly, never received the finishing touches of the judicious author. This fact accounts for the inaccuracies which abound in the copies that are already extant. Every exertion has been used, and it is presumed with success, to ascertain the genuine reading, and convey the true meaning of the author.

author. The subjects are common themes, but such as are acknowledged to be of the greatest moment in the life of man: as it may be said of things in the natural world, those which are of the greatest benefit, are the most obvious and familiar. The matter, however, of his Meditations does not partake of this character; for, as he was a man who thought closely and deeply upon every subject, so his writings, and especially those which cost him the least effort, discover a genius, an energy, and an originality, superior to common writers. Though, as it has been suggested, he wrote these without effort, yet he had maturely digested the subject, "which, as a scribe instructed unto the kingdom of Heaven[1]", he treasured up in his heart, and produced out of this treasure of his heart and the abundance of it. His style is admirably adapted to the matter[2]. It is significant, perspicuous, and manly; his words are spirit and life, and carry with

[1] Matt. xiii. 52.

[2] "My Lord Hale was one of the greatest Judges that ever sat in Westminster Hall, who was as competent to express as he was able to conceive." Lord Ellenborough.

East's Rep. vol. 5th, p. 17.

them evidence and demonstration. These writings are indeed invaluable, they are a transcript of the soul of Hale himself. They furnish a lively and striking representation of his learning, wisdom, piety, and virtue, which shone in his life with such transcendant lustre, and raised him to the highest eminence. If I might select one part in preference to another, it would be perhaps the subject of the Great Audit, where, in drawing the picture of the Good Steward, he is describing himself passing his solemn and awful accounts.

In this volume will be found two treatises written upon the same subject; viz. *Afflictions*. There is, however, little room for apprehension, lest the *latter* treatise may prove tedious to the pious reader who has perused the *former*.

His *Meditations upon the Lord's Prayer* are truly excellent, and must leave a deep impression upon every mind which entertains a relish for sincere religion, piety, and devotion.

His shorter *Meditations* were written when the author was upon his journeys, and at seasons in which he was much interrupted by the society of those about him.

Hale

Hale would always reserve to himself "his *horæ sacræ*," his portions of leisure, for suitable and profitable meditation; from which he permitted neither his company nor any of those occurrences to divert him, by which we are too apt to excuse ourselves from performing the duties of religion and piety.

The writings of Hale are ill calculated to satisfy the expectations of the proud disputant, and bigoted polemic. The acrimony and invective of party had inspired him with an invincible aversion to religious controversy. An impatience of opposition, and a contest for victory on speculative and indifferent points of doctrine, had extinguished the spirit of Christian charity, sunk religion itself into disgrace, and exposed it to the reproach or ridicule of its enemies. The doctrines of our blessed Redeemer, when attacked, ought to be defended, but this should be done in the temper of meekness and moderation.

It is not every combatant that is qualified to wield his weapon and contend for the truth. A cause may suffer more from an indiscreet friend, than an open foe.

It is lamentable to observe what a spirit of animosity is kindled in the Christian Church, by the revival of a controversy which has, from the most remote ages, been agitated with more or less vehemence, and which is never likely to be decided. This, at least, I may venture to assert, that what cannot be gained by calm and dispassionate argument, it will be in vain to expect from dogmatical assertion and loud anathemas. The disciples of Calvin and Arminius are entreated to recollect, that the maintenance of their positions is not inconsistent with the profession and the practice of the Gospel. The brightest ornaments of the Christian religion, and the most exemplary patterns of every Christian grace, have ranged on opposite sides. Whatever be the consequences deducible from these doctrines, they are not fraught with half the injury which religion suffers from the intemperate zeal with which the discussion of this and every other question in religion is generally managed. May the rage of controversy subside, and the mild spirit of Christianity triumph, and continue to adorn and beautify the life and conversation of its professors! May the faithful

faithful labourer in the vineyard of his blessed Master, employ his zeal and talents, in clearing it of the weeds of sin, in preparing the soil of the human heart for the reception of the Divine seed, and encouraging the growth of righteousness and true holiness! This employment will yield him the reward of conscious approbation; when heated prejudices, and clamorous conflicts, in the support of a speculative tenet, will disappoint the expectations of the polemic, and end in painful and unprofitable regret.

It has been considered as no small advantage to the cause of the Christian religion, that she has found, among her ablest and most zealous defenders, those who cannot be supposed to have espoused her interest, but from a conviction of her truth. Whenever the deist ventures to impute to the clergyman motives of selfishness, he is confounded and silenced by the names of Newton, Boyle and Locke. The learning, genius, independence, and disinterestedness, of these *laymen*, have always furnished a decisive answer to the objections of the infidel. May it not be esteemed a considerable advantage to the cause, to include the

the name of Hale in the list of these illustrious champions? His admirable sagacity, and strict impartiality in the search and discovery of truth, his care and diligence in considering and examining the reason and evidences of religion, all conspire to attach a peculiar importance to his testimony, and enhance its value, to give an additional confirmation of the truth to the believer, and check the rash presumption of the sceptic. Men who might peruse with a prejudiced eye, the writings of those whose profession immediately enjoins them to exert their abilities in the defence of the Gospel, may be prevailed on to pay them a serious attention, merely by the authority of one, whose natural constitution, learned profession, and worldly interest, raised him above suspicion; by the respect which the fame of his solid judgment and discriminating powers must command; and, above all, by the constant strain of piety, virtue, and usefulness, for which his life and literary labors were so eminently distinguished.

The few words which by course of time have become obsolete, or seldom occur, I have explained, for the satisfaction of those who may not understand their meaning.

The

The translations of the Latin expressions which are interspersed in the work, are subjoined also for the same reason.

I hope it will be thought an improvement to remove from the text to the foot of the page, the numerous references of Scripture, which, from their frequent occurrence, interrupt the narration, and give a less pleasing effect to the eye.

I have adopted the modern orthography, with a view to render the Work more readable and inviting.

The reader may be assured, however, no liberties have been taken with the *language* of the text. In sitting down to the following volumes, he will have the satisfaction of conversing *only* with Hale. I envy not the taste of the architect who thinks the venerable simplicity of the *Gothic* receives any improvement from its transformation into the style of a *Grecian* edifice.

His Poems conclude the Second Volume. If there be any part of the Works of Hale, the loss of which I should least regret, I confess it is this. If, however, they want the characters which constitute legitimate poetry, let the vein of piety which runs through

through them, and the dignity of the subject, deprecate the severity of criticism.

May I be permitted to conclude with my fervent prayer, that this feeble attempt to do justice to the memory of Sir MATTHEW HALE, and to serve the cause of piety and virtue, may be attended with the blessing of Heaven, and be a means of promoting amongst men, the imitation of this excellent pattern, and the cultivation of all those graces and good dispositions which rendered him amiable and estimable in the sight of men, and recommended him, we trust, through the merits of Christ, to the favour of God, and a place in the realms of eternal bliss!

Since these volumes were printed, it has afforded me no small gratification to observe that a Prelate [1], not less conspicuous for his learning and abilities than his primitive zeal in the diffusion of practical Christianity, has included the 'Contemplations Moral and Divine, of Sir Matthew Hale,' in the short list of Books which he recommends as "deserving a place in every Christian's

[1] Dr. Burgess, Bishop of St. David.—See part the third. An Easter Catechism.

"closet,

" closet, for their truly Scriptural princi-
" ples of vital and spiritual Religion." It is a circumstance peculiarly important to the cause of religion, and consolatory to her friends, when Men are advanced to eminent stations in the Church, who feel themselves called upon to employ their talents and exert their influence in spreading the knowledge of Christ amongst the ignorant and illiterate, and instilling into babes the milk of the word! Whilst the Church of England can look up to those for her guardians and examples, who " take up
" the mantles " of Andrews, Beveridge, and Horne, we humbly trust, she will ever flourish under God, and maintain her ascendancy in this favoured land.

THE

LIFE AND DEATH

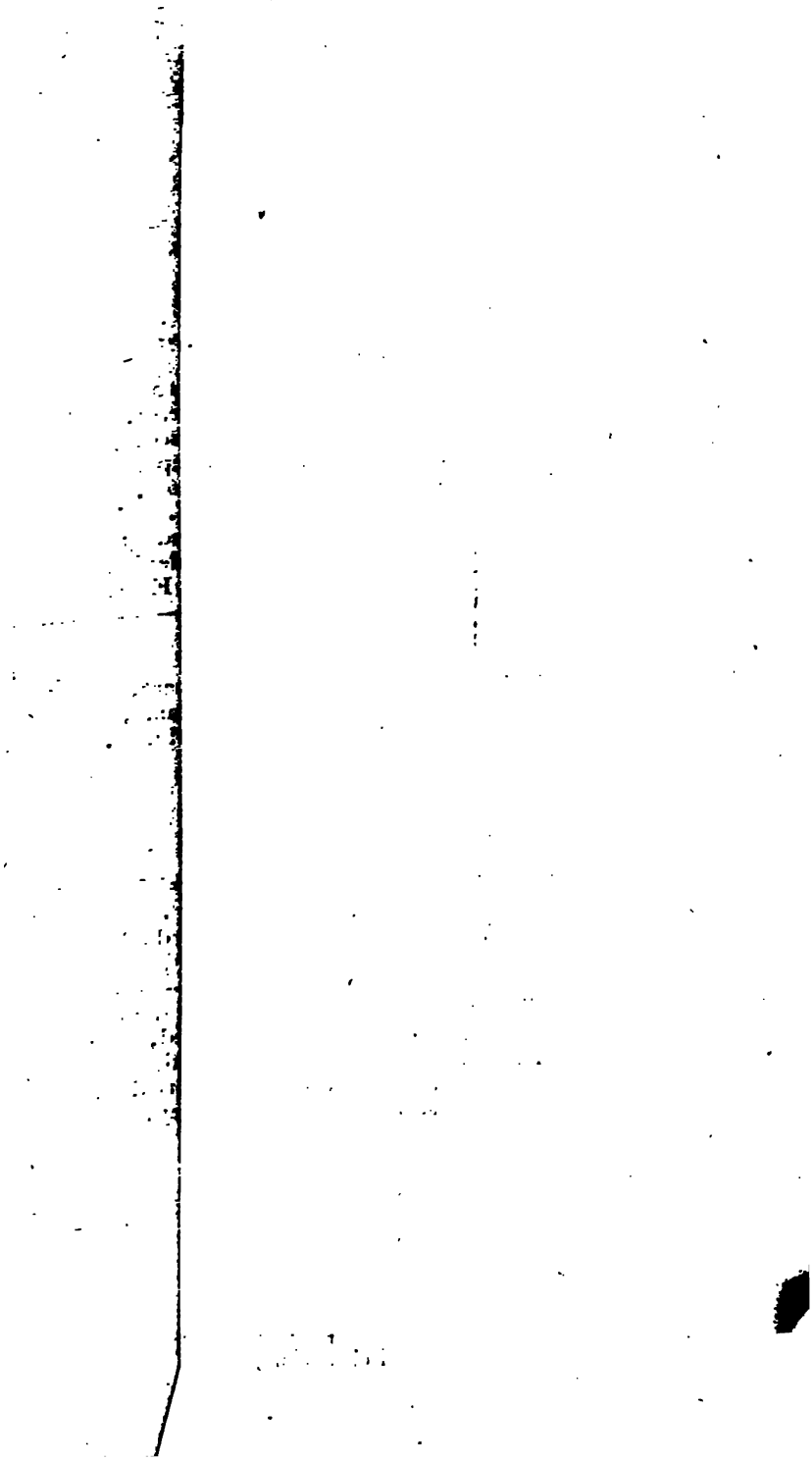
OF

Sir MATTHEW HALE, Knt.

LORD CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE COURT OF KING'S BENCH.

BY GILBERT BURNET,

LORD BISHOP OF SARUM.



MATTHEW HALE, Knt.

of Mat-
Alder-
nty of
ister of
ıtz.

ıne, daughter of
—— More, and
ter of Sir Henry
ore, of Fanley,
Berks, Knt.
1st wife.

I Edward Hale, of Ewelm, in Oxfordshire, fourth son, died in October 1682.

= Mary, daughter of Edmund Goodyer, of Heythrop, in Oxfordshire.

Mary, eldest daughter, married to Edward Stephens, of Alderley, son of Edward Stephens, of Cherington, in Gloucestersh. but first married to Edward Adderley, of Ireland, Esq.

Elizabeth, the second daughter, married Edmund Webb, of Bagpath, in Gloucestersh.

1, Anne, æt. 18,
2, Mary, 17,
3, Frances, 16,
in 1683.

Matthew Hale, born July 25, 1675, a posthumous child, died without issue.

1, Robert,
2, Thomas,
3, Overbury.

1, Mary,
2, Elizabeth,
3, Anne.

Matthew Hale, second son died in March 1733, buried at Alderley.

= Mary, daughter of John Harding, Esq. died in July 1775, buried at Alderley.

Matthew Hale, third son, died in 1768, buried at Alderley.

Two children, Elizabeth and Robert, died infants.

Matthew died unmarried, Aug. 26, 1784, buried at Alderley.

Gabriel died unmarried, in 1774, buried at Alderley.

= Anne, only surviving issue of Gabriel Hale.

Elizabeth,

John.

THE PREFACE.

No part of Hiſtory is more inſtructive and delighting, than the Lives of Great and Worthy Men: the ſhortneſs of them invites many readers; and there are ſuch little, and yet remarkable paſſages in them, too inconſiderable to be put in a general hiſtory of the age in which they lived, that all people are very deſirous to know them. This makes *Plutarch's Lives* be more generally read, than any of all the books which the ancient Greeks or Romans writ.

But the lives of Heroes and Princes, are commonly filled with the account of the great things done by them, which do rather belong to a general, than a particular hiſtory; and do rather amuſe the reader's fancy with a ſplendid ſhew of greatneſs, than offer him what is really ſo uſeful to himſelf; and indeed the lives of princes are either writ with ſo much flattery, by thoſe who, intended to merit by it at their own hands, or others concerned in them; or with ſo much ſpite, by thoſe who, being ill uſed by them, have revenged themſelves on their memory, that there is not much to be built on them: And though the ill nature of many makes what is ſatirically writ to be generally more read and believed, than when the flattery is viſible and coarſe; yet certainly reſentment may make the writer corrupt the truth of hiſtory, as much as intereſt. And ſince all men have their blind ſides, and commit errors, he that will induſtriouſly lay theſe together, leaving out, or but ſlightly touching what ſhould be ſet againſt them, to balance them, may make a very good man appear in bad colours: So, upon the whole matter, there is not that reaſon to expect either much truth, or great inſtruction, from what is written concerning Heroes or Princes; for few, have been able to imitate

the patterns Suetonius ſet the world in writing the Lives of the Roman Emperors, with the ſame freedom that they had led them: But the lives of private men, though they ſeldom entertain the reader with ſuch a variety of paſſages as the other do; yet certainly they offer him things that are more imitable, and do preſent wiſdom and virtue to him, not only in a fair idea, which is often looked on as a piece of invention or fancy of the writer, but in ſuch plain and familiar inſtances, as do both direct him better, and perſuade him more; and there are not ſuch temptations to bias thoſe who writ them, ſo that we may generally depend more on the truth of ſuch relations as are given in them.

In the age in which we live, religion and virtue have, been propoſed and defended with ſuch advantages with that great force of reaſon, and thoſe perſuaſions, that they can hardly be matched in former times; yet after all this, there are but few much wrought on by them, which perhaps flows from this, among other reaſons, that there are not ſo many excellent patterns ſet out, as might both in a ſhorter, and more effectual manner recommend that to the world, which diſcourſes do but coldly; the wit and ſtyle of the writer being more conſidered than the argument which they handle; and therefore the propoſing virtue and religion in ſuch a model, may perhaps operate more than the perſpective of it can do: and for the Hiſtory of Learning, nothing does ſo preſerve and improve it, as the writing of the lives of thoſe who have been eminent in it.

There is no book the Ancients have left us, which might have informed us more than Diogenes Laertius's Lives of the Philoſophers, if he had had the art of writing equal to that great ſubject which he undertook; for if he had given the world ſuch an account of them as Gaſſendus has done of Peireſk, how great a ſtock of knowledge might we have had, which by his unſkilfulneſs is in a great meaſure loſt: ſince we

muſt

muſt now depend only on him, becauſe we have no other, or better author, that has written on that argument.

For many ages there were no lives writ but by Monks, through whoſe writings there runs ſuch an incurable humour, of telling incredible and inimitable paſſages, that little in them can be believed or propoſed as a pattern: Sulpitius Severus and Jerome ſhewed too much credulity in the lives they writ, and raiſed Martin and Hilarion, beyond what can be reaſonably believed. After them, Socrates, Theodoret, Sozomen, and Palladius, took a pleaſure to tell uncouth ſtories of the Monks of Thebais, and Nitria; and thoſe who came after them, ſcorned to fall ſhort of them, but raiſed their ſaints above thoſe of former ages; ſo that one would have thought that indecent way of writing could riſe no higher: and this humour infected even thoſe who had otherwiſe a good ſenſe of things, and a juſt apprehenſion of mankind, as may appear in Matthew Paris, who, though he was a writer of great judgment and fidelity, yet he has corrupted his hiſtory with much of that alloy. But when emulation and envy roſe among the ſeveral orders, or houſes, then they improved in that art of making romances, inſtead of writing lives, to that pitch, that the world became generally much ſcandalized with them: the Franciſcans and Dominicans tried who could ſay the moſt extravagant things of the founders, or other ſaints of their orders; and the Benedictines, who thought themſelves poſſeſt of the belief of the world, as well as of its wealth, endeavoured all that was poſſible ſtill to keep up the dignity of their order, by out-lying the others all they could; and whereas here or there, a miracle, a viſion, a trance, might have occurred in the lives of former ſaints; now every page was full of thoſe wonderful things.

Nor has the humour of writing in ſuch a manner been quite laid down in this age, though more awakened, and better enlightened, as appears in the

Life of Philip Nerius, and a great many more: and the Jeſuits at Antwerp are now taking care to load the world with vaſt and voluminous collections of all thoſe Lives that have already ſwelled in eleven volumes of folio, in a ſmall print; and yet being digeſted according to the kalender, they have yet but ended the month of April. The Life of Monſieur Renty is writ in another manner, where there are ſo many excellent paſſages, that he is juſtly to be reckoned amongſt the greateſt patterns that France has afforded in this age.

But while ſome have nouriſhed infidelity, and a ſcorn of all ſacred things, by writing of thoſe good men in ſuch a ſtrain, as makes not only what is ſo related to be diſbelieved, but creates a diſtruſt of the authentical writings of our moſt holy faith; others have fallen into another extreme in writing Lives too jejunely, ſwelling them up with trifling accounts of the childhood and education, and the domeſtic or private affairs of thoſe perſons of whom they write, in which the world is little concerned: by theſe they become ſo flat that few care to read them; for certainly thoſe tranſactions are only fit to be delivered to poſterity, that may carry with them ſome uſeful piece of knowledge to after-times.

I have now an argument before me, which will afford indeed only a ſhort hiſtory, but will contain in it as great a character as perhaps can be given of any in this age; ſince there are few inſtances of more knowledge, and greater virtues meeting in one perſon. I am upon one account (beſide many more) unfit to undertake it, becauſe I was not at all known to him, ſo I can ſay nothing from my own obſervation; but upon ſecond thoughts, I do not know whether this may not qualify me to write more impartially, though perhaps more defectively, for the knowledge of extraordinary perſons does moſt commonly bias thoſe who were much wrought on, by the tenderneſs of their friendſhip for them, to raiſe their ſtyle a little too high when

when they write concerning them: I confeſs I knew him as much as the looking often upon him could amount to. The laſt year of his being in London, he came always on Sundays (when he could go abroad) to the Chapel of the Rolls, where I then preached. In my life I never ſaw ſo much gravity tempered with that ſweetneſs, and ſet off with ſo much vivacity, as appeared in his looks and behaviour, which diſpoſed me to a veneration for him which I never had for any with whom I was not acquainted: I was ſeeking an opportunity of being admitted to his converſation; but I underſtood, that between a great want of health, and a multiplicity of buſineſs, which his employment brought upon him, he was maſter of ſo little of his time, that I ſtood in doubt whether I might preſume to rob him of any of it; and ſo he left the town before I could reſolve on deſiring to be known to him.

My ignorance of the law of England made me alſo unfit to write of a man, a great part of whoſe character, as to his learning, is to be taken from his ſkill in the Common Law, and his performance in that. But I ſhall leave that to thoſe of the ſame robe; ſince, if I engaged much in it, I muſt needs commit many errors, writing of a ſubject that is foreign to me.

The occaſion of my undertaking this, was given me firſt by the earneſt deſires of ſome that have great power over me; who having been much obliged by him, and holding his memory in high eſtimation, thought it might do it ſome right by writing his Life: I was then engaged in the Hiſtory of the Reformation, ſo I promiſed that as ſoon as that was over, I ſhould make the beſt uſe I could of ſuch informations and memorials as ſhould be brought me.

This I have now performed in the beſt manner I could, and have brought into method all the parcels of his Life, or the branches of his character, which I could either gather from the informations that were brought me, or from thoſe that were familiarly ac-

quainted with him, or from his writings: I have not applied any of the falſe colours, with which art, or ſome forced eloquence might furniſh me, in writing concerning him; but have endeavoured to ſet him out in the ſame ſimplicity in which he lived: I have ſaid little of his domeſtic concerns; ſince though in theſe he was a great example, yet it ſignifies nothing to the world, to know any particular exerciſes that might be given to his patience; and therefore I ſhall draw a veil over all theſe, and ſhall avoid ſaying any thing of him, but what may afford the reader ſome profitable inſtruction. I am under no temptations of ſaying any thing but what I am perſuaded is exactly true; for where there is ſo much excellent truth to be told, it were an inexcuſable fault to corrupt that, or prejudice the reader againſt it by the mixture of falſhoods with it.

In ſhort, as he was a great example while he lived, ſo I wiſh the ſetting him thus out to poſterity, in his own true and native colours, may have its due influence on all perſons; but more particularly on thoſe of that profeſſion whom it more immediately concerns, whether on the Bench, or at the Bar.

THE LIFE AND DEATH

OF

SIR MATTHEW HALE, KNIGHT,

LATE LORD CHIEF JUSTICE OF ENGLAND.

MATTHEW HALE was born at Alderly in Glouceſterſhire, the firſt of November, 1609. His grandfather was Robert Hale, an eminent clothier in Wotton-under-Edge, in that county, where he and his anceſtors had lived for many deſcents; and they had given ſeveral parcels of land for the uſe of the poor, which are enjoyed by them to this day. This Robert acquired an eſtate of ten thouſand pounds, which he divided almoſt equally amongſt his five ſons; beſides the portions he gave his daughters, from whom a numerous poſterity has ſprung. His ſecond ſon was Robert Hale, a barriſter of Lincoln's Inn; he married Joan the daughter of Matthew Poyntz, of Alderly, Eſquire, who was deſcended from that noble family of the Poyntz's of Acton: of this marriage there was no other iſſue but this one ſon. His grandfather by his mother was his godfather, and gave him his own name at his baptiſm. His father was a man of that ſtrictneſs of conſcience, that he gave over the practice of the law, becauſe he could not underſtand the reaſon of giving colour in pleadings, which as he thought was to tell a lie, and that, with ſome other things commonly practiſed, ſeemed to him contrary to that exactneſs of truth and juſtice which became a Chriſtian, ſo that he withdrew himſelf from the Inns of Court to live on his eſtate in the country. Of this I was informed by an ancient gentleman, that lived in a friendſhip with his ſon for fifty years, and he heard Judge Jones, that was Mr. Hale's contemporary, declare this in the King's Bench. But as the care he had to ſave his ſoul made him abandon a profeſſion in which he might have raiſed his family much higher, ſo his charity to his

beſt, for he would be as good as his word: ſo after a little engagement, his maſter being really ſuperior to him, hit him on the head, and he performed his promiſe; for he gave him the houſe freely: and was not unwilling at that rate to learn ſo early to diſtinguiſh flattery from plain and ſimple truth.

He now was ſo taken up with martial matters, that inſtead of going on in his deſign of being a ſcholar, or a divine, he reſolved to be a ſoldier: and his tutor Sedgwick going into the Low Countries, chaplain to the renowned Lord Vere, he reſolved to go along with him, and to trail a pike in the Prince of Orange's army; but a happy ſtop was put to this reſolution, which might have proved ſo fatal to himſelf, and have deprived the age of the great example he gave, and the uſeful ſervices he afterwards did his country. He was engaged in a ſuit of law with Sir William Whitmore, who laid claim to ſome part of his eſtate, and his guardian being a man of a retired temper, and not made for buſineſs, he was forced to leave the univerſity, after he had been three years in it, and go to London to ſolicit his own buſineſs. Being recommended to Serjeant Glanvill for his counſellor, and he obſerving in him a clear apprehenſion of things, and a ſolid judgment, and a great fitneſs for the ſtudy of the law, took pains upon him to perſuade him to forſake his thoughts of being a ſoldier, and to apply himſelf to the ſtudy of the law; and this had ſo good an effect on him, that on the 8th of November, 1629, when he was paſt the 20th year of his age, he was admitted into Lincoln's-Inn; and being then deeply ſenſible how much time he had loſt, and that idle and vain things had over-run and almoſt corrupted his mind, he reſolved to redeem the time he had loſt, and followed his ſtudies with a diligence that could ſcarce be believed, if the ſignal effects of it did not gain it credit. He ſtudied for many years at the rate of 16 hours a day: he threw aſide all fine clothes, and betook himſelf to a plain faſhion, which he continued to uſe in many points to his dying day.

But

But ſince the honour of reclaiming him from the idleneſs of his former courſe of life, is due to the memory of that eminent lawyer Serjeant Glanvill, and ſince my deſign in writing is to propoſe a pattern of heroic virtue to the world, I ſhall mention one paſſage of the Serjeant which ought never to be forgotten. His father had a fair eſtate, which he intended to ſettle on his elder brother, but he being a vicious young man, and there appearing no hopes of his recovery, he ſettled it on him that was his ſecond ſon. Upon his death, his eldeſt ſon finding that what he had before looked on, as the threatnings of an angry father, was now but too certain, became melancholy, and that by degrees wrought ſo great a change on him, that what his father could not prevail in while he lived, was now effected by the ſeverity of his laſt will, ſo that it was now too late for him to change in hopes of any eſtate that was gone from him. But his brother obſerving the reality of the change, reſolved within himſelf what to do: So he called him, with many of his friends together to a feaſt, and after other diſhes had been ſerved up to the dinner, he ordered one that was covered to be ſet before his brother, and deſired him to uncover it; which he doing, the company was ſurpriſed to find it full of writings. So he told them that he was now to do, what he was ſure his father would have done, if he had lived to ſee that happy change, which they now all ſaw in his brother: and therefore he freely reſtored to him the whole eſtate. This is ſo great an inſtance of a generous and juſt diſpoſition, that I hope the reader will eaſily pardon this digreſſion, and that the rather, ſince that worthy Serjeant was ſo inſtrumental in the happy chance that followed in the courſe of Mr. Hale's life.

Yet he did not at firſt break off from keeping too much company with ſome vain people, till a ſad accident drove him from it; for he with ſome other young ſtudents, being invited to be merry out of town, one of the company called for ſo much wine, that notwithſtanding all that Mr. Hale could do to prevent it,

he

he went on in his exceſs till he fell down as dead before them, ſo that all that were preſent were not a little affrighted at it, who did what they could to bring him to himſelf again. This did particularly affect Mr. Hale, who thereupon went into another room, and ſhutting the door, fell on his knees, and prayed earneſtly to God, both for his friend, that he might be reſtored to life again; and that himſelf might be forgiven for giving ſuch countenance to ſo much exceſs: and he vowed to God, that he would never again keep company in that manner, nor drink a health while he lived. His friend recovered, and he moſt religiouſly obſerved his vow, till his dying day. And though he was afterwards preſſed to drink healths, particularly the King's, which was ſet up by too many as a diſtinguiſhing mark of loyalty, and drew many into great exceſs after his Majeſty's happy Reſtoration; but he would never diſpenſe with his vow, though he was ſometimes roughly treated for this, which ſome hot and indiſcreet men called obſtinacy.

This wrought an entire change on him. Now he forſook all vain company, and divided himſelf between the duties of religion, and the ſtudies of his profeſſion; in the former he was ſo regular, that for ſix and thirty years time, he never once failed going to church on the Lord's day; this obſervation he made when an ague firſt interrupted that conſtant courſe, and he reflected on it, as an acknowledgment of God's great goodneſs to him, in ſo long a continuance of his health.

He took a ſtrict account of his time, of which the reader will beſt judge, by the ſcheme he drew for a diary, which I ſhall inſert, copied from the original, but I am not certain when he made it; it is ſet down in the ſame ſimplicity in which he writ it for his own private uſe.

MORNING.

I. To lift up the heart to God in thankfulneſs for renewing my life.

II. To renew my covenant with God in Chriſt, 1. By renewed Acts of Faith, receiving Chriſt, and rejoic-

in

ing in the height of that relation. 2. Reſolution of being one of his people doing him allegiance.

III. Adoration and Prayer.

IV. Setting a watch over my own Infirmities and Paſſions, over the Snares laid in our way. *Perimus licitis*[1].

DAY EMPLOYMENT.

There muſt be an employment, two kinds.

I. Our ordinary calling, to ſerve God in it. It is a ſervice to Chriſt though never ſo mean. Coloſ. iii. Here *Faithfulneſs*, *Diligence*, *Cheerfulneſs*. Not to over-lay myſelf with more buſineſs than I can bear.

II. Our Spiritual employments, mingle ſomewhat of God's immediate ſervice in this day.

REFRESHMENTS.

I. Meat and drink, moderation ſeaſoned with ſomewhat of God.

II. Recreations. 1. Not our buſineſs. 2. Suitable. No games, if given to covetouſneſs or paſſion.

IF ALONE.

I. Beware of wandering, vain, luſtful thoughts, fly from thyſelf rather than entertain theſe.

II. Let thy ſolitary thoughts be profitable, view the evidences of thy Salvation; the ſtate of thy Soul, the coming of Chriſt, thy own Mortality, it will make thee humble and watchful.

COMPANY.

Do good to them. Uſe God's name reverently. Beware of leaving an ill impreſſion of ill example. Receive good from them if more knowing.

EVENING.

Caſt up the accounts of the day. If ought amiſs, beg pardon. Gather reſolution of more vigilance. If well, bleſs the Mercy and Grace of God that hath ſupported thee.

[1] We are ruined by indulgence.

Theſe

Theſe Notes have an imperfection in the wording of them, which ſhews they were only intended for his privacies. No wonder a man who ſet ſuch rules to himſelf, became quickly very eminent and remarkable.

Noy, the attorney-general, being then one of the greateſt men of the profeſſion, took early notice of him, and called often for him, and directed him in his ſtudy, and grew to have ſuch friendſhip for him, that he came to be called young *Noy*. He paſſing from the extreme of vanity in his apparel, to that of neglecting himſelf too much, was once taken when there was a preſs for the King's ſervice, as a fit perſon for it; for he was a ſtrong and well-built man: but ſome that knew him coming by, and giving notice who he was, the preſs-men let him go. This made him return to more decency in his clothes, but never to any ſuperfluity or vanity in them.

Once as he was buying ſome cloth for a new ſuit, the draper, with whom he differed about the price, told him he ſhould have it for nothing, if he would promiſe him an hundred pound when he came to be lord chief juſtice of England; to which he anſwered, that he could not with a good conſcience wear any man's cloth, unleſs he payed for it; ſo he ſatisfied the draper and carried away the cloth. Yet the ſame draper lived to ſee him advanced to that ſame dignity.

While he was thus improving himſelf in the ſtudy of the law, he not only kept the hours of the hall conſtantly in term time, but ſeldom put himſelf out of commons in vacation time, and continued then to follow his ſtudies with an unwearied diligence; and not being ſatisfied with the books writ about it, or to take things upon truſt, was very diligent in ſearching all records: then did he make divers collections out of the books he had read, and mixing them with his own obſervations, digeſted them into a common-place book; which he did with ſo much induſtry and judgment, that an eminent judge of the king's-bench, borrowed it

it of him when he was lord chief baron: he unwillingly lent it, becauſe it had been writ by him before he was called to the bar, and had never been thoroughly reviſed by him ſince that time, only what alterations had been made in the law by ſubſequent ſtatutes, and judgments, were added by him as they had happened: but the judge having peruſed it, ſaid, that though it was compoſed by him ſo early, he did not think any lawyer in England could do it better, except he himſelf would again ſet about it.

He was ſoon found out by that great and learned antiquary Mr. Selden, who though much ſuperior to him in years, yet came to have ſuch a liking of him, and of Mr. Vaughan, who was afterwards lord chief juſtice of the common-pleas, that as he continued in a cloſe friendſhip with them while he lived, ſo he left them at his death, two of his four executors.

It was this acquaintance that firſt ſet Mr. Hale on a more enlarged purſuit of learning, which he had before confined to his own profeſſion; but becoming as great a maſter in it, as ever any was, very ſoon, he who could never let any of his time go away unprofitably, found leiſure to attain to as great a variety of knowledge, in as comprehenſive a manner as moſt men have done in any age.

He ſet himſelf much to the ſtudy of the Roman law, and though he liked the way of judicature in England by juries, much better than that of the civil law, where ſo much was truſted to the judge; yet he often ſaid, that the true grounds and reaſons of law were ſo well delivered in the digeſts, that a man could never underſtand law as a ſcience ſo well as by ſeeking it there, and therefore lamented much that it was ſo little ſtudied in England.

He looked on readineſs in arithmetic, as a thing which might be uſeful to him in his own employment, and acquired it to ſuch a degree, that he would often on the ſudden, and afterwards on the bench, reſolve very

very hard queſtions, which had puzzled the beſt accomptants about town. He reſted not here, but ſtudied the algebra both *ſpecioſa* and *numeroſa*, and went through all the other mathematical ſciences, and made a great collection of very excellent inſtruments, ſparing no coſt to have them as exact as art could make them. He was alſo very converſant in philoſophical learning, and in all the curious experiments and rare diſcoveries of this age: and had the new books written on thoſe ſubjects ſent from all parts, which he both read and examined ſo critically, that if the principles and hypotheſes which he took firſt up, did any way prepoſſeſs him, yet thoſe who have differed moſt from him, have acknowledged, that in what he has writ concerning the *Torricellian* Experiment, and of the Rarefaction and Condenſation of the Air, he ſhews as great an exactneſs, and as much ſubtilty in the reaſoning he builds on them, as theſe principles to which he adhered could bear. But indeed it will ſeem ſcarce credible, that a man ſo much employed, and of ſo ſevere a temper of mind, could find leiſure to read, obſerve and write ſo much of theſe ſubjects as he did. He called them his diverſions, for he often ſaid, when he was weary with the ſtudy of the law, or divinity, he uſed to recreate himſelf with philoſophy or the mathematics; to this he added great ſkill in phyſic, anatomy and chirurgery: and he uſed to ſay, 'No 'man could be abſolutely a maſter in any profeſſion, 'without having ſome ſkill in other ſciences;' for beſides the ſatisfaction he had in the knowledge of theſe things, he made uſe of them often in his employments. In ſome examinations he would put ſuch queſtions to phyſicians or chirurgeons, that they have profeſſed, the college of phyſicians could not do it more exactly; by which he diſcovered great judgment, as well as much knowlege in theſe things: and in his ſickneſs he uſed to argue with his doctors about his diſtempers, and the methods they took with them, like one

one of their own profeſſion; which one of them told me he underſtood, as far as ſpeculation without practice could carry him.

To this he added great ſearches into ancient hiſtory, and particularly into the rougheſt and leaſt delightful part of it, Chronology. He was well acquainted with the ancient Greek philoſophers; but want of occaſion to uſe it, wore out his knowledge of the Greek tongue; and though he never ſtudied the Hebrew tongue, yet by his great converſation with Selden, he underſtood the moſt curious things in the Rabbinical learning.

But above all theſe he ſeemed to have made the ſtudy of Divinity the chief of all others; to which he not only directed every thing elſe, but alſo arrived at that pitch in it, that thoſe who have read what he has written on theſe ſubjects, will think they muſt have had moſt of his time and thoughts. It may ſeem extravagant, and almoſt incredible, that one man, in no great compaſs of years, ſhould have acquired ſuch a variety of knowledge, and that in ſciences that require much leiſure and application. But as his parts were quick, and his apprehenſions lively, his memory great, and his judgments ſtrong; ſo his induſtry was almoſt indefatigable. He roſe always betimes in the morning; was never idle; ſcarce ever held any diſcourſe about news, except with ſome few in whom he confided entirely. He entered into no correſpondence by letters, except about neceſſary buſineſs, or matters of learning, and ſpent very little time in eating or drinking; for as he never went to public feaſts, ſo he gave no entertainments but to the poor; for he followed our Saviour's directions (of feaſting none but theſe) literally. And in eating and drinking, he obſerved not only great plainneſs and moderation, but lived ſo philoſophically, that he always ended his meal with an appetite; ſo that he loſt little time at it (that being the only portion which he grudged himſelf), and was diſpoſed to any exerciſe of mind, to which he

thought fit to apply himſelf, immediately after he had dined. By theſe means he gained much time, that is otherwiſe unprofitably waſted.

He had alſo an admirable equality in the temper of his mind, which diſpoſed him for whatever ſtudies he thought fit to turn himſelf to; and ſome very uneaſy things which he lay under for many years, did rather engage him to, than diſtract him from his ſtudies.

When he was called to the Bar, and began to make a figure in the world, the late unhappy wars broke out, in which it was no eaſy thing for a man to preſerve his integrity, and to live ſecurely free from great danger and trouble. He had read the life of *Pomponius Atticus*, writ by Nepos; and having obſerved, that he had paſſed through a time of as much diſtraction, as ever was in any age or ſtate, from the wars of Marius and Sylla, to the beginning of Auguſtus's reign, without the leaſt blemiſh on his reputation, and free from any conſiderable danger, being held in great eſteem by all parties, and courted and favoured by them, he ſet him as a pattern to himſelf; and obſerving, that beſides thoſe virtues which are neceſſary to all men, and at all times, there were two things that chiefly preſerved Atticus; the one was, his *engaging in no faction*, and *meddling in no public buſineſs*; the other was, the *conſtant favouring and receiving thoſe that were loweſt*, which was aſcribed by ſuch as prevailed to the generoſity of his temper, and procured him much kindneſs from thoſe on whom he had exerciſed his bounty, when it came to their turn to govern; he reſolved to guide himſelf by thoſe rules as much as was poſſible for him to do.

He not only avoided all public employment, but the very talking of news, and was always both favourable and charitable to thoſe who were depreſt, and was ſure never to provoke any in particular, by cenſuring or reflecting on their actions; for many that have converſed much with him, have told me they never heard him once ſpeak ill of any perſon.

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He was employed in his practice by all the king's party; he was aſſigned counſel to the earl of Strafford, and archbiſhop Laud, and afterwards to the bleſſed King himſelf, when brought to the infamous pageantry of a mock-trial, and offered to plead for him with all the courage that ſo glorious a cauſe ought to have inſpired him with; but was not ſuffered to appear, becauſe the king refuſing, as he had good reaſon, to ſubmit to the court, it was pretended none could be admitted to ſpeak for him. He was alſo counſel for the duke of Hamilton, the earl of Holland, and the lord Capel. His plea for the former of theſe, I have publiſhed in the memoirs of that duke's life. Afterwards alſo being counſel for the lord Craven, he pleaded with that force of argument, that the then attorney-general, threatened him for appearing againſt the government; to whom he anſwered, 'He was pleading 'in defence of thoſe laws, which they declared they 'would maintain and preſerve, and he was doing his 'duty to his client, ſo that he was not to be daunted 'with threatnings.'

Upon all theſe occaſions he had diſcharged himſelf with ſo much learning, fidelity, and courage, that he came to be generally employed for all that party; nor was he ſatisfied to appear for their juſt defence in the way of his profeſſion, but he alſo relieved them often in their neceſſities; which he did in a way that was no leſs prudent than charitable, conſidering the dangers of that time: for he did often depoſit conſiderable ſums in the hands of a worthy gentleman of the king's party, who knew their neceſſities well, and was to diſtribute his charity according to his own diſcretion, without either letting them know from whence it came, or giving himſelf any account to whom he had given it,

Cromwell ſeeing him poſſeſt of ſo much practice, and he being one of the eminenteſt men of the law, who was not at all afraid of doing his duty in thoſe

threw him down, and having beat him, he left him. The ſoldier went into the town, and told one of his fellow-ſoldiers how he had been uſed, and got him to go with him, and lie in wait for the man, that he might be revenged on him. They both watched his coming to town, and one of them went to him to demand his gun; which he refuſing, the ſoldier ſtruck at him; and, as they were ſtruggling, the other came behind, and ran his ſword into his body, of which he preſently died. It was in the time of the aſſizes, ſo they were both tried: againſt the one there was no evidence of forethought felony, ſo he was only found guilty of manſlaughter, and burnt on the hand; but the other was found guilty of murder. And though Colonel Whaley, that commanded the garriſon, came into the court, and urged, 'That the man was killed 'only for diſobeying the Protector's order, and that the 'ſoldier was but doing his duty;' yet the judge regarded both his reaſons and threatnings very little; and therefore he not only gave ſentence againſt him, but ordered the execution to be ſo ſuddenly done, that it might not be poſſible to procure a reprieve; which he believed would have been obtained, if there had been time enough granted for it.

Another occaſion was given him, of ſhewing both his juſtice and courage, when he was in another circuit; he underſtood that the Protector had ordered a jury to be returned for a trial, in which he was more than ordinarily concerned. Upon this information, he examined the ſheriff about it, who knew nothing of it, for he ſaid he referred all ſuch things to the under-ſheriff; and, having next aſked the under-ſheriff concerning it, he found the jury had been returned by order from *Cromwell*; upon which he ſhewed the ſtatute, that all juries ought to be returned by the ſheriff, or his lawful officer; and this not being done according to law, he diſmiſſed the jury, and would not try the cauſe: upon which the Protector was highly diſpleaſed with him, and at his return from the circuit,

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he told him in anger, *He was not fit to be a judge*; to which all the anſwer he made was, *That it was very true.*

Another thing met him in the circuit, upon which he reſolved to have proceeded ſeverely: ſome anabaptiſts had ruſhed into a church, and had diſturbed a congregation while they were receiving the ſacrament, not without ſome violence. At this he was highly offended, for he ſaid, 'it was intolerable for men, who 'pretended ſo highly for liberty of conſcience, to 'go and diſturb others, eſpecially thoſe who had the 'encouragement of the law on their ſide.' But theſe were ſo ſupported by ſome great magiſtrates and officers, that a ſtop was put to his proceedings; upon which he declared he would 'meddle no more with 'the trials on the crown-ſide.'

When *Penruddock's* trial was brought on, there was a ſpecial meſſenger ſent to him, requiring him to aſſiſt at it. It was in vacation-time, and he was at his country-houſe at Alderly. He plainly refuſed to go, and ſaid, 'The four terms, and two circuits, were 'enough; and the little interval that was between, was 'little enough for their private affairs;' and ſo he excuſed himſelf. He thought it was not neceſſary to ſpeak more clearly; but if he had been urged to it, he would not have been afraid of doing it.

He was at that time choſen a parliament-man (for there being then no Houſe of Lords, judges might have been choſen to ſit in the houſe of commons), and he went to it on deſign to obſtruct the mad and wicked projects then on foot, by two parties that had very different principles and ends.

On the one hand, ſome that were, perhaps, more ſincere, yet were really brain-ſick, deſigned they knew not what, being reſolved to pull down a *ſtanding miniſtry* of the *law* and *property* of *England*, and all the *ancient rules* of this government, and ſet up in its room an indigeſted enthuſiaſtical ſcheme, which they called the Kingdom of Chriſt, or of his ſaints; many of them

being really in expectation, that one day or another Chriſt would come down and ſit among them, and at leaſt they thought to begin the *glorious thouſand years* mentioned in the *Revelation.*

Others at the ſame time, taking advantages from the fears and apprehenſions that all the ſober men of the nation were in, leſt they ſhould fall under the tyranny of a diſtracted ſort of people, who, to all their other ill principles, added great cruelty, which they had copied from thoſe at *Munſter* in the former age, intended to improve that opportunity to raiſe their own fortunes and families. Amidſt theſe, Judge Hale ſteered a middle courſe; for, as he would engage for neither ſide, ſo he, with a great many more worthy men, came to parliaments more out of a deſign to *hinder miſchief*, than to *do much good*; wiſely foreſeeing that the inclinations for the royal family were daily growing ſo much, that in time the diſorders then in agitation, would ferment to that happy reſolution, in which they determined in May 1660. And therefore all that could be then done, was to oppoſe the ill deſigns of both parties, the *enthuſiaſts* as well as the *uſurpers.* Among the other extravagant motions made in this parliament, one was to *deſtroy all the records in the Tower*, and to *ſettle the nation on a new foundation*; ſo he took his province to himſelf to ſhew the madneſs of this propoſition, the *injuſtice* of it, and the *miſchiefs* that would follow on it; and did it with ſuch clearneſs and ſtrength of reaſon, as not only ſatisfied all ſober perſons (for it may be ſuppoſed that was ſoon done), but ſtopped even the mouths of the frantic people themſelves.

Thus he continued adminiſtring juſtice till the Protector died; but then he both refuſed the mournings that were ſent to him and his ſervants for the funeral, and likewiſe to accept of the new commiſſion that was offered him by *Richard*; and, when the reſt of the judges urged it upon him, and employed others to preſs him to accept of it, he rejected all their importunities, and

and ſaid, 'He could act no longer under ſuch au-
'thority.'

He lived a private man till the parliament met that called home the king, to which he was returned knight of the ſhire from the county of Glouceſter. It appeared at that time how much he was beloved and eſteemed in his neighbourhood; for though another, who ſtood in competition with him, had ſpent near a thouſand pounds to procure voices, a great ſum to be employed that way in thoſe days, and he had been at no coſt, and was ſo far from ſoliciting it, that he had ſtood out long againſt thoſe who preſſed him to appear; and he did not promiſe to appear till three days before the election, yet he was preferred. He was brought thither almoſt by violence, by the lord (now earl of) Berkeley, who bore all the charge of the entertainments on the day of his election, which was conſiderable, and had engaged all his friends and intereſt for him. And whereas by the writ, the knight of a ſhire must be *Miles gladio cinctus* [1], and he had no ſword, that noble lord girt him with his own ſword during the election; but he was ſoon weary of it, for the embroidery of the belt did not ſuit well with the plainneſs of his clothes: and, indeed, the election did not hold long; for, as ſoon as ever he came into the field, he was choſen by much the greater number, though the poll continued for three or four days.

In that parliament he bore his ſhare in the happy period then put to the confuſions that threatened the utter ruin of the nation, which, contrary to the expectations of the moſt ſanguine, ſettled in ſo ſerene and quiet a manner, that thoſe who had formerly built ſo much on their ſucceſs, calling it an *anſwer* from heaven to their ſolemn appeals to the providence of God, were now not a little confounded to ſee all this turned againſt themſelves, in an inſtance much more extraordinary than any of thoſe were upon which they had built ſo much. His great prudence

[1] a ſoldier girt with a ſword.

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and excellent temper led him to think, that the ſooner an act of indemnity were paſſed, and the fuller it were of graces and favours, it would ſooner ſettle the nation, and quiet the minds of the people; and therefore he applied himſelf with a particular care to the framing and carrying it on; in which it was viſible he had no concern of his own, but merely his love of the public that ſet him on to it.

Soon after this, when the courts in *Weſtminſter-hall* came to be ſettled, he was made *Lord Chief Baron*; and when the earl of *Clarendon* (then lord chancellor) delivered him his commiſſion, in the ſpeech he made, according to the cuſtom on ſuch occaſions, he expreſſed his eſteem of him in a very ſingular manner, telling him, among other things, 'That if the king 'could have found out an honeſter and fitter man for 'that employment, he would not have advanced him 'to it; and that he had therefore preferred him, be-'cauſe he knew none that deſerved it ſo well.' It is ordinary for perſons ſo promoted to be knighted; but he deſired to avoid having that honour done him, and therefore, for a conſiderable time, declined all opportunities of waiting on the king; which the lord chancellor obſerving ſent for him upon buſineſs one day when the king was at his houſe, and told his majeſty there was his modeſt chief baron; upon which he was unexpectedly knighted.

He continued eleven years in that place, managing the court, and all proceedings in it, with ſingular juſtice. It was obſerved by the whole nation, how much he raiſed the reputation and practice of it; and thoſe who held places and offices in it, can all declare, not only the impartiality of his juſtice, for that is but a common virtue, but his generoſity, his vaſt diligence, and his great exactneſs in trials. This gave occaſion to the only complaint that ever was made of him, 'That he did not diſpatch matters quick enough:' but the great care he uſed to put ſuits to a final end,

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as it made him ſlower in deciding them, ſo it had this good effect, that cauſes tried before him, were ſeldom, if ever, tried again.

Nor did his adminiſtration of juſtice lie only in that court: he was one of the principal judges that ſate in Clifford's-inn, about ſettling the difference between landlord and tenant, after the *dreadful fire* of *London*; he being the firſt that offered his ſervice to the city for accommodating all the differences that might have riſen about the rebuilding of it, in which he behaved himſelf to the ſatisfaction of all perſons concerned; ſo that the ſudden and quiet building of the city, which is juſtly to be reckoned one of the *wonders* of the age, is in no ſmall meaſure due to the great care which he and Sir Orlando Bridgeman (then lord chief juſtice of the common-pleas, afterwards lord-keeper of the great ſeal of England) uſed, and to the judgment they ſhewed in that affair; ſince, without the rules then laid down, there might have otherwiſe followed ſuch an endleſs train of vexatious ſuits, as might have been little leſs chargeable than the fire itſelf had been. But, without detracting from the labours of the other judges, it muſt be acknowledged that he was the moſt inſtrumental in that great work; for he firſt, by way of ſcheme, contrived the rules upon which he and the reſt proceeded afterwards; in which his readineſs at arithmetic, and his ſkill in architecture, were of great uſe to him.

But it will not ſeem ſtrange that a judge behaved himſelf as he did, who, at the entry into his employment, ſet ſuch excellent rules to himſelf, which will appear in the following paper, copied from the original under his own hand.

THINGS NECESSARY TO BE CONTINUALLY HAD IN REMEMBRANCE.

I. That, in the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, I am entruſted for God, the King, and Country; and therefore,

II. That it be done; 1. Uprightly; 2. Deliberately; 3. Reſolutely.

III. That I reſt not upon my own Underſtanding or Strength, but implore and reſt upon the Direction and Strength of God.

IV. That, in the Execution of Juſtice, I carefully lay aſide my own Paſſions, and not give way to them, however provoked.

V. That I be wholly intent upon the Buſineſs that I am about, remitting all other Cares and Thoughts, as unſeaſonable, and Interruptions.

VI. That I ſuffer not myſelf to be prepoſſeſſed with any Judgment at all, till the whole Buſineſs and both parties be heard.

VII. That I never engage myſelf in the beginning of any Cauſe, but reſerve myſelf unprejudiced till the whole be heard.

VIII. That in Buſineſs Capital, though my Nature prompt me to Pity, yet to conſider that there is alſo a Pity due to the Country.

IX. That I be not too rigid in Matters purely Conſcientious, where all the harm is Diverſity of Judgment.

X. That I be not biaſſed with Compaſſion to the Poor, or Favour to the Rich, in point of Juſtice.

XI. That Popular, or Court Applauſe, or Diſtaſte, have no influence into any thing I do in point of Diſtribution of Juſtice.

XII. Not to be ſolicitous what men will ſay or think, ſo long as I keep myſelf exactly according to the Rules of Juſtice.

XIII. If in Criminals it be a meaſuring caſt, to incline to Mercy and Acquittal.

XIV. In

XIV. In Criminals that conſiſt merely in Words, when no more harm enſues, Moderation is no Injuſtice.

XV. In Criminals of Blood, if the fact be evident, Severity is Juſtice.

XVI. To abhor all private Solicitations, of what kind ſoever, and by whomſoever, in Matters Depending.

XVII. To Charge my Servants: 1. Not to interpoſe in any Buſineſs whatſoever. 2. Not to take more than their known Fees. 3. Not to give any undue Precedence to Cauſes. 4. Not to recommend Counſel.

XVIII. To be ſhort and ſparing at Meals, that I may be the fitter for Buſineſs.

He would never receive private addreſſes or recommendations from the greateſt perſons in any matter, in which juſtice was concerned. One of the firſt peers of England went once to his chamber, and told him, 'that having a ſuit in law to be tried before 'him, he was then to acquaint him with it, that he 'might the better underſtand it, when it ſhould come 'to be heard in court.' Upon which the lord chief baron interrupted him, and ſaid, 'He did not deal 'fairly to come to his chamber about ſuch affairs, for 'he never received any information of cauſes but in 'open court, where both parties were to be heard 'alike;' ſo he would not ſuffer him to go on. Whereupon his grace (for he was a duke) went away not a little diſſatisfied, and complained of it to the king, as a rudeneſs that was not to be endured. But his majeſty bid him 'content himſelf that he was no 'worſe uſed,' and ſaid, 'he verily believed he would 'have uſed himſelf no better, if he had gone to ſolicit 'him in any of his own cauſes.'

Another paſſage fell out in one of his circuits, which was ſomewhat cenſured as an affectation of an unreaſonable ſtrictneſs; but it flowed from his exactneſs

neſs to the rules he had ſet himſelf. A gentleman had ſent him a buck for his table, that had a trial at the aſſizes; ſo when he heard his name, he aſked 'if he was not the ſame perſon that had ſent him 'veniſon?' and finding he was the ſame, he told him, 'he could not ſuffer the trial to go on, till 'he had paid him for his buck.' To which the gentleman anſwered, 'that he never ſold his veniſon, and 'that he had done nothing to him, which he did 'not do to every judge that had gone that circuit,' which was confirmed by ſeveral gentlemen then preſent: but all would not do, for the lord chief baron had learned from *Solomon*, that *a gift perverteth the ways of judgment*; and therefore he would not ſuffer the trial to go on, till he had paid for the preſent; upon which the gentleman withdrew the record. And at Saliſbury the Dean and Chapter having, according to the cuſtom, preſented him with ſix ſugar loaves in his circuit, he made his ſervants pay for the ſugar before he would try their cauſe.

It was not ſo eaſy for him to throw off the importunities of the poor, for whom his compaſſion wrought more powerfully than his regard to wealth and greatneſs; yet when juſtice was concerned, even that did not turn him out of the way. There was one that had been put out of a place, for ſome ill behaviour, who urged the lord chief baron to ſet his hand to a certificate to reſtore him to it, or provide him with another; but he told him plainly, *his fault was ſuch that he could not do it*; the other preſſed him vehemently, and fell down on his knees, and begged it of him with many tears; but finding that could not prevail, he ſaid, 'he ſhould be utterly ruined if he 'did it not; and he ſhould curſe him for it every day:' But that having no effect, then he fell out into all the reproachful words that paſſion and deſpair could inſpire him with; to which all the anſwer the lord chief baron made was, 'that he could very well

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'bear all his reproaches; but he could not for all that 'ſet his hand to his certificate.' He ſaw he was poor, ſo he gave him a large charity, and ſent him away.

But now he was to go on after his pattern, *Pomponius Atticus*, ſtill to favour and relieve them that were loweſt. So beſides great charities to the *Nonconformiſts*, who were then, as he thought, too hardly uſed, he took great care to cover them all he could, from the ſeverities ſome deſigned againſt them, and diſcouraged thoſe who were inclined to ſtretch the laws too much againſt them: He lamented the differences that were raiſed in this church very much, and, according to the impartiality of his juſtice, he blamed ſome things on both ſides, which I ſhall ſet down with the ſame freedom that he ſpake them. He thought many of the Nonconformiſts had merited highly in the buſineſs of the *king's reſtoration*, and at leaſt deſerved that the terms of Conformity ſhould not have been made ſtricter than they were before the war. There was not then that dreadful proſpect of Popery that has appeared ſince. But that which afflicted him moſt was, that he ſaw the heats and contentions which followed upon thoſe different parties and intereſts, did take people off from the indiſpenſable things of religion, and ſlackened the zeal of (other ways) good men for the ſubſtance of it, ſo much being ſpent about external and indifferent things. It alſo gave advantages to Atheiſts, to treat the moſt ſacred points of our holy faith as ridiculous, when they ſaw the profeſſors of it contend ſo fiercely, and with ſuch bitterneſs, about leſſer matters. He was much offended at all thoſe books that were written to expoſe the *contrary ſect* to the ſcorn and contempt of the age, in a wanton and petulant ſtyle; he thought ſuch writers wounded the Chriſtian religion through the ſides of thoſe who differed from them: while a ſort of lewd people, who having aſſumed to themſelves the title of the Wits (though but a very few of them have a right to it) took

councils being more acceptable to ſome concealed Papiſts then in great power, as has ſince appeared but too evidently, the whole project for Comprehenſion was let fall, and thoſe who had ſet it on foot, came to be looked on with an ill eye, as ſecret favourers of the Diſſenters, underminers of the Church, and every thing elſe that jealouſy and diſtaſte could caſt on them.

But upon this occaſion, the lord chief baron, and Dr. Wilkins, came to contract a firm and familiar friendſhip; and the lord chief baron having much buſineſs, and little time to ſpare, did to enjoy the other the more, what he had ſcarce ever done before, he went ſometimes to dine with him. And though he lived in great friendſhip with ſome other eminent clergymen, as Dr. Ward, biſhop of Saliſbury; Dr. Barlow, biſhop of Lincoln; Dr. Barrow, late maſter of Trinity-College; Dr Tillotſon, dean of Canterbury; and Dr. Stillingfleet, dean of St. Paul's, (men ſo well known, and ſo much eſteemed, that as it was no wonder the lord chief baron valued their converſation highly, ſo thoſe of them that are yet alive will think it no leſſening of the character they are ſo deſervedly in, that they are reckoned among Judge Hale's friends) yet there was an intimacy and freedom in his converſe with Biſhop Wilkins, that was ſingular to him alone: He had, during the late wars, lived in a long and entire friendſhip with the apoſtolical primate of Ireland, Biſhop Uſher: their curious ſearches into antiquity, and the ſympathy of both their tempers, led them to a great agreement almoſt in every thing. He held alſo great converſation with Mr. Baxter, who was his neighbour at Acton, on whom he looked as a perſon of great devotion and piety, and of a very ſubtile and quick apprehenſion: their converſation lay moſt in metaphyſical and abſtracted ideas and ſchemes.

He looked with great ſorrow on the impiety and atheiſm of the age, and ſo he ſet himſelf to oppoſe it,

it, not only by the ſhining example of his own life, but by engaging in a cauſe, that indeed could hardly fall into better hands: and as he could not find a ſubject more worthy of himſelf, ſo there were few in the age that underſtood it ſo well, and could manage it more ſkilfully. The occaſion that firſt led him to write about it, was this. He was a ſtrict obſerver of the *Lord's-day*, in which, beſides his conſtancy in the public worſhip of God, he uſed to call all his family together, and repeat to them the heads of the ſermons, with ſome additions of his own, which he fitted for their capacities and circumſtances; and that being done, he had a cuſtom of ſhutting himſelf up for two or three hours, which he either ſpent in his *ſecret devotions*, or on ſuch profitable *meditations* as did then occur to his thoughts: he writ them with the ſame ſimplicity that he formed them in his mind, without any art, or ſo much as a thought to let them be publiſhed: he never corrected them, but laid them by, when he had finiſhed them, having intended only to fix and preſerve his own reflections in them; ſo that he uſed no ſort of care to poliſh them, or make the firſt draught perfecter than when they fell from his pen. Theſe fell into the hands of a worthy perſon, and he judging, as well he might, that the communicating them to the world, might be a public ſervice, printed two volumes of them in octavo, a little before the author's death, containing his

CONTEMPLATIONS [1].

I. Of our latter End.
II. Of Wisdom and the Fear of God.
III. Of the Knowledge of Christ Crucified.
IV. The Victory of Faith over the World.
V. Of Humility.
VI. Jacob's Vow.
VII. Of Contentation.
VIII. Of Afflictions.
IX. A good Method to entertain unstable and troublesome Times.

[1] These compose the second volume of the present work, excepting the Letter to his Children, which is printed in the first volume.

X. Changes and Troubles: A Poem.
XI. Of the Redemption of Time.
XII. The great Audit.
XIII. Directions touching keeping the Lord's-Day: In a Letter to his Children.
XIV. Poems written upon Christmas-day.

In the 2d Volume.

I. An Enquiry touching Happiness.
II. Of the Chief End of Man.
III. Upon Eccles. xii. 1. Remember thy Creator.
IV. Upon Psalm. li. 10. Create a clean Heart in me: With a Poem.
V. The Folly and Mischief of Sin.
VI. Of Self-Denial.
VII. Motives to Watchfulness, in reference to the Good and Evil Angels.
VIII. Of Moderation of the Affections.
IX. Of Worldly Hope and Expectation.
X. Upon Heb. xiii. 14. We have here no continuing City.
XI. Of Contentedness and Patience.
XII. Of Moderation of Anger.
XIII. A Preparative against Afflictions.
XIV. Of Submission, Prayer, and Thanksgiving.
XV. Of Prayer and Thanksgiving, on Psalm cxvi. 12.
XVI. Meditations on the Lord's-Prayer, with a Paraphrase upon it.

In them there appears a generous and true ſpirit of religion, mixt with moſt ſerious and fervent devotion; and perhaps with the more advantage, that the ſtyle wants ſome correction, which ſhews they were the genuine production of an excellent mind, entertaining itſelf in ſecret with ſuch contemplations. The ſtyle is clear and maſculine, in a due temper, between flatneſs and affectation, in which he expreſſes his thoughts both eaſily and decently. In writing theſe diſcourſes, having run over moſt of the ſubjects that his own circumſtances led him chiefly to conſider, he began to be in ſome pain to chooſe new arguments; and therefore reſolved to fix on a theme that ſhould hold him longer.

He was ſoon determined in his choice, by the immoral and irreligious principles and practices, that had ſo long vexed his righteous ſoul: and therefore began a great deſign againſt *Atheiſm*, the firſt part of which is only

only printed, of the *Origination of Mankind*, deſigned to prove the *Creation* of the *World*, and the *truth* of the *Moſaical Hiſtory*.

The Second Part was of the *Nature of the Soul*, and of a *future State*.

The Third Part was concerning the *Attributes of God*, both from the *abſtracted ideas* of him, and the *light of nature*; the *evidence of Providence*; the *notions of morality*, and the *voice of conſcience*.

And the Fourth Part was concerning the *Truth and authority of the Scriptures*, with *anſwers* to the *objections* againſt them. On writing theſe, he ſpent ſeven years. He wrote them with ſo much conſideration, that one who peruſed the original under his own hand, which was the firſt draught of it, told me, he did not remember any *conſiderable* alteration: perhaps not of *twenty words* in the whole work.

The way of his writing them, only on the evenings of the Lord's-day when he was in town, and not much oftener, when he was in the country, made, that they are not ſo contracted, as it is very likely he would have writ them, if he had been more at leiſure to have brought his thoughts into a narrower compaſs, and fewer words.

But making ſome allowance for the largeneſs of the ſtyle, that volume that is printed, is generally acknowledged to be one of the perfecteſt pieces, both of learning and reaſoning, that has been writ on that ſubject. And he who read a great part of the other volumes, told me, they were all of a piece with the firſt.

When he had finiſhed this work, he ſent it by an unknown hand to Biſhop Wilkins, to deſire his judgment of it; but he that brought it, would give no other account of the author, but that *he was not a clergyman*. The Biſhop and his worthy friend Dr. Tillotſon, read a great deal of it with much pleaſure, but could not imagine who could be the author; and how a man that was maſter of ſo much reaſon, and ſo great a variety of knowledge, ſhould be ſo unknown to them, that they could not find him out by thoſe characters, which are

ſo little common. At laſt Dr. Tillotſon gueſſed it muſt be the Lord Chief Baron; to which the other preſently agreed, wondering he had been ſo long in finding it out. So they went immediately to him, and the Biſhop thanking him for the entertainment he had received from his works, he bluſhed extremely, not without ſome diſpleaſure, apprehending that the perſon he had truſted had diſcovered him: but the Biſhop ſoon cleared that, and told him, 'He had diſcovered 'himſelf; for the learning of that book was ſo various, 'that none but he could be the author of it.' And that Biſhop having a freedom in delivering his opinion of things and perſons, which perhaps few ever managed both with ſo much plainneſs and prudence, told him, 'There was nothing could be better ſaid on theſe ar-'guments, if he could bring it into a leſs compaſs; 'but if he had not leiſure for that, he thought it much 'better to have it come out, though a little too large, 'than that the world ſhould be deprived of the good 'which it muſt needs do.' But our Judge had never opportunities of reviſing it; ſo a little before his death, he ſent the firſt part of it to the preſs.

In the beginning of it, he gives an *Eſſay* of his excellent way of *methodiſing* things; in which he was ſo great a maſter, that whatever he undertook, he would preſently caſt into ſo perfect a ſcheme, that he could never afterwards correct it. He runs out copiouſly upon the argument of the *Impoſſibility of an Eternal Succeſſion* of Time, to ſhew that *Time* and *Eternity* are inconſiſtent one with another; and that therefore all *duration* that was paſt, and defined by *Time*, could not be from *Eternity*; and he ſhews the *difference* between *ſucceſſive Eternity* already paſt, and one to come; ſo that though the *latter* is poſſible, the *former* is not ſo; for all the parts of the *former* have actually been, and therefore being defined by *Time*, cannot be *Eternal*; whereas the *other* are ſtill future to all *Eternity*; ſo that this reaſoning cannot be turned to prove the *poſſibility of eternal ſucceſſions that have been*, as well as *eternal*

ſucceſſions

ſucceſſions that ſhall be. This he follows with a ſtrength I never met with in any that managed it before him.

He brings next all thoſe moral arguments, to prove, *that the world had a beginning*; agreeing to the account *Moſes* gives of it; as that no *Hiſtory* riſes higher than near the time of the *Deluge*; and that the firſt foundation of kingdoms, the *invention* of arts, the *beginnings* of all religions, the *gradual plantation* of the world, and *increaſe* of mankind, and the *conſent* of nations do agree with it. In managing theſe, as he ſhews *profound ſkill* both in *hiſtorical* and *philoſophical* learning; ſo he gives a noble *diſcovery* of his great candour and probity, that he would not impoſe on the reader with a falſe ſhew of reaſoning, by arguments that he knew had flaws in them; and therefore upon every one of theſe he adds ſuch allays, as in a great meaſure leſſened and took off their force, with as much exactneſs of judgment, and ſtrictneſs of cenſure, as if he had been ſet to plead for the other ſide: and indeed ſums up the whole evidence for religion, as impartially as ever he did on a trial for life or death to the jury; which how equally and judiciouſly he always did, the whole nation well knows.

After that he examines the *ancient opinions* of the *philoſophers*, and enlarges with a great variety of curious reflections in anſwering that only argument that has any appearance of ſtrength for the caſual productions of man, from the *origination of inſects* out of *putrified matter*, as is commonly ſuppoſed; and he concluded the book, ſhewing how rational and philoſophical the account which Moſes gives of it is. There is in it all a ſagacity and quickneſs of thought, mixed with great and curious learning, that I confeſs I never met together in any other book on that ſubject. Among other conjectures, one he gives concerning the Deluge is: 'That he did not think the face of the Earth and the 'Waters, were altogether the ſame before the univer-'ſal Deluge, and after: but poſſibly the face of the 'Earth was more even than now it is. The Seas poſ-

'ſibly more dilated and extended, and not ſo deep as 'now.' And a little after: 'Poſſibly the Seas have 'undermined much of the appearing Continent of 'Earth.' This I the rather take notice of, becauſe it hath been ſince his death made out in a moſt ingenious and moſt elegantly writ book, by Mr. Burnet of Chriſt's College, in Cambridge, who has given ſuch an Eſſay towards the proving the *poſſibility* of an *Univerſal Deluge*; and from thence has collected, with great ſagacity, what *Paradiſe* was before it, as has not been offered by any philoſopher before him.

While the Judge was thus employing his time, the Lord Chief Juſtice Keyling dying, he was on the 18th of May, 1671, promoted to be *Lord Chief Juſtice of England.* He had made the *Pleas of the Crown* one of his chief ſtudies; and by much ſearch and long obſervation, had compoſed that great work concerning them, formerly mentioned; he that holds the high office of Juſticiary in that court, being the chief truſtee and aſſertor of the liberties of his country. All people applauded this choice, and thought their liberties could not be better depoſited, than in the hands of one, that as he underſtood them well, ſo he had all the juſtice and courage that ſo ſacred a truſt required. One thing was much obſerved and commended in him, that when there was a great inequality in the ability and learning of the counſellors that were to plead one againſt another, he thought it became him, as the judge, to ſupply that; ſo he would enforce what the weaker counſel managed but indifferently, and not ſuffer the more learned to carry the buſineſs by the advantage they had over the others, in their quickneſs and ſkill in law, and readineſs in pleading, till all things were cleared, in which the merits and ſtrength of the ill-defended cauſe lay. He was not ſatisfied barely to give his judgment in cauſes; but did, eſpecially in all intricate ones, give ſuch an account of the reaſons that prevailed with him, that the counſel did not only acquieſce in his authority, but were ſo convinced by his reaſons,

reaſons, that I have heard many profeſs that he brought them often to change their opinions; ſo that his giving of judgment was really a learned lecture upon that point of law: and which was yet more, the parties themſelves, though intereſt does too commonly corrupt the judgment, were generally ſatisfied with the juſtice of his deciſions, even when they were made againſt them. His impartial juſtice, and great diligence, drew the chief practice after him, into whatſoever court he came. Since, though the Courts of the Common-pleas, the Exchequer, and the King's-bench, are appointed for the trial of cauſes of different natures, yet it is eaſy to bring moſt cauſes into any of them, as the counſel or attorneys pleaſe; ſo as he had drawn the buſineſs much after him, both into the Common-pleas and the Exchequer, it now followed him into the King's-bench; and many cauſes that were depending in the Exchequer, and not determined, were let fall there, and brought again before him in the court to which he was now removed. And here did he ſpend the reſt of his public life and employment. But about four years and a half after this advancement, he who had hitherto enjoyed a firm and vigorous health, to which his great temperance, and the equality of his mind, did not a little conduce, was on a ſudden brought very low by an inflammation in his midriff, which in two days time broke the conſtitution of his health to ſuch a degree, that he never recovered it. He became ſo aſthmatical, that with great difficulty he could fetch his breath; that determined in a dropſy, of which he afterwards died. He underſtood phyſic ſo well, that conſidering his age, he concluded his diſtemper muſt carry him off in a little time; and therefore he reſolved to have ſome of the laſt months of his life reſerved to himſelf; that, being freed of all worldly cares, he might be preparing for his change. He was alſo ſo much diſabled in his body, that he could hardly, though ſupported by his ſervants, walk through Weſtminſter-hall, or endure the toil of buſi-

neſs:

neſs: he had been a long time wearied with the diſtractions that his employment had brought on him, and his profeſſion was become ungrateful to him: he loved to apply himſelf wholly to better purpoſes, as will appear by a paper that he wrote on this ſubject, which I ſhall here inſert.

'Firſt, If I conſider the buſineſs of my profeſſion, 'whether as an Advocate or as a Judge, it is true, I 'do acknowledge, by the inſtitution of Almighty God, 'and the diſpenſation of his Providence, I am bound to 'induſtry and fidelity in it: and as it is an Act of Obe-'dience unto his Will, it carries with it ſome things of 'religious duty, and I may and do take comfort in it, 'and expect a reward of my obedience to him, and 'the good that I do to mankind therein, from the 'bounty and beneficence, and promiſe of Almighty 'God; and it is true alſo, that without ſuch employ-'ments, Civil Societies cannot be ſupported, and great 'good redounds to mankind from them; and in theſe 'reſpects, the conſcience of my own induſtry, fidelity, 'and integrity in them, is a great comfort and ſatisfac-'tion to me. But yet this I muſt ſay concerning theſe 'employments, conſidered ſimply in themſelves, that 'they are very full of cares, anxieties, and perturbations.

'Secondly, That though they are beneficial to others, 'yet they are of the leaſt benefit to him that is employ-'ed in them.

'Thirdly, That they do neceſſarily involve the party, 'whoſe office it is, in great dangers, difficulties, and 'calumnies.

'Fourthly, That they only ſerve for the meridian of 'this life, which is ſhort and uncertain.

'Fifthly, That though it be my duty, faithfully to 'ſerve in them, while I am called to them, and till I 'am duly called from them, yet they are great con-'ſumers of that little time we have here; which, as it 'ſeems to me, might be better ſpent in a pious contem-

'plative

'plative life, and a due proviſion for Eternity. I do 'not know a better temporal employment than *Martha* 'had, in teſtifying her love and duty to our Saviour, 'by making proviſion for him; yet our Lord tells her, 'That though ſhe was troubled about many things, 'there was only one thing neceſſary, and *Mary* had 'choſen the better part.'

By this the reader will ſee that he continued in this ſtation upon no other conſideration, but that being ſet in it by the Providence of God, he judged he could not abandon that poſt which was aſſigned him, without preferring his own *private inclination* to the *choice* God hath made for him; but now that *ſame* Providence having by this *great diſtemper* diſengaged him from the obligation of holding a place, which he was no longer able to diſcharge, he reſolved to reſign in. This was no ſooner ſurmiſed abroad, than it drew upon him the importunities of all his friends, and the clamour of the whole town to divert him from it, but all was to no purpoſe; there was but one argument that could move him, which was, 'That he was obliged to continue in 'the employment God had put him in for the good 'of the public.' But to this he had ſuch an anſwer, that even thoſe who were moſt concerned in his withdrawing, could not but ſee, that the reaſons inducing him to it, were but too ſtrong; ſo he made application to his majeſty for his *Writ of Eaſe*, which the King was very unwilling to grant him, and offered to let him hold his place ſtill, he doing what buſineſs he could in his chamber; but he ſaid, 'He could not with 'a good conſcience continue in it, ſince he was no 'longer able to diſcharge the duty belonging to it.'

But yet ſuch was the general ſatisfaction which all the kingdom received by his excellent adminiſtration of juſtice, that the King, though he could not well deny his requeſt, yet he deferred the granting of it as long as was poſſible; nor could the lord chancellor be prevailed

prevailed with to move the King to haſten his diſcharge, though the chief juſtice often preſſed him to it.

At laſt having wearied himſelf and all his friends with his importunate deſires, and growing ſenſibly weaker in body, he did, upon the 21ſt day of February, 28 Car. II. Anno Dom. 1675-6, go before a maſter of chancery, with a little parchment deed, drawn by himſelf, and written all with his own hand, and there ſealed and delivered it, and acknowledged it to be enrolled; and afterwards he brought the original deed to the lord chancellor, and did formally ſurrender his office in theſe words:

Omnibus Chriſti fidelibus ad quos præsens Scriptura pervenerit, Mattheus Hale, *Miles, capitalis juſticiarius Domini Regis ad placita coram ipſo rege tenenda aſſignatus, ſalutem in Domino ſempiternam: noveritis me præfatum* Matthæum Hale, *Militem, jam ſenem factum & variis corporis mei ſenilis morbis & infirmitatibus dire laborantem & adhuc detentum, hâc chartâ mea reſignare & ſurſum reddere ſereniſſimo Domino noſtro Carolo Secundo Dei gratiâ* Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ, *Regi, Fidei Defenſori, &c. Predictum officium capitalis juſticiarii ad placita coram ipſo rege tenenda, humillime petens quod hoc ſcriptum irrotuletur de recordo. In cujus rei teſtimonium huic chartæ meæ reſignationis ſigillum meum apposui. Dat vicesimo primo die* Februarii, *anno regni dict. Dom. Regis nunc vicesimo octavo* [1].

[1] TRANSLATION.

To all perſons in Chriſt to whom theſe preſents ſhall come, MATTHEW HALE, knight, Chief Juſtice of our Lord the King, aſſigned to hold pleas before the King, greeting: Know ye that I the ſaid Matthew Hale, knight, having now become advanced in years, and by reaſon of my age being now ſeverely afflicted with various diſeaſes and infirmities, and ſtill confined thereby, do by this inſtrument reſign and render up to our moſt gracious Lord Charles the Second, by the Grace of God, of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c. the ſaid office of chief juſtice; moſt humbly beſeeching that this deed may be enrolled. In witneſs whereof I have ſet my ſeal to this deed of my reſignation.

Given the 21ſt day of February, in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of our ſaid Lord the King.

He

He made this inſtrument, as he told the lord chancellor, for two ends; the one was to ſhow the world his own *free concurrence* to his removal: another was to obviate the objection heretofore made, 'That a 'chief juſtice, being placed by writ, was not remov-'able at pleaſure, as judges by patent were;' which opinion, as he ſaid, was once held by his predeceſſor the lord chief juſtice Keyling; and though he himſelf was always of another opinion, yet he thought it reaſonable to prevent ſuch a ſcruple.

He had the day before ſurrendered to the King in perſon, who parted from him with great grace, wiſhing him moſt heartily the return of his health; and aſſuring him, 'That he would ſtill look upon him as one 'of his judges, and have recourſe to his advice when 'his health would permit; and in the mean time 'would continue his penſion during his life.'

The good man thought this bounty too great, and an ill precedent for the King; and therefore writ a letter to the lord treaſurer, earneſtly deſiring that his penſion might be only *during pleaſure*; but the King would grant it for life, and make it payable quarterly.

And yet for a whole month together, he would not ſuffer his ſervant to ſue out his patent for his penſion; and when the firſt payment was received, he ordered a great part of it to charitable uſes; and ſaid, he intended moſt of it ſhould be ſo employed as long as it was paid him.

At laſt he happened to die upon the quarter-day which was *Chriſtmas-day*; and though this might have given ſome occaſion to a diſpute, whether the penſion for that quarter were recoverable, yet the King was pleaſed to decide that matter againſt himſelf, and ordered the penſion to be paid to his executors.

As ſoon as he was diſcharged from his great place, he returned home with as much cheerfulneſs as his want of health would admit of, being now eaſed of a burden he had been of late groaning under, and ſo made more capable of enjoying that which he had much

much wiſhed for, according to his elegant tran
of, or rather paraphraſe upon, thoſe excellent li
Seneca's Thyeſtes, Act. 2.

Stet quicunque volet potens,
Aulæ culmine lubrico:
Me dulcis saturet quies.
Obscuro positus loco,
Leni perfruar otio:
Nullis nota Quiritibus,
Ætas per tacitum fluat.
Sic cum transierint mei
Nullo cum strepitu dies,
Plebeius moriar senex.
Illi mors gravis incubat,
Qui notus nimis omnibus.
Ignotus moritur sibi.

Let him that will aſcend the tottering ſeat
Of courtly grandeur, and become as great
As are his mounting wiſhes: As for me,
Let ſweet *repoſe* and *reſt* my *portion* be.
Give me ſome *mean obſcure recess*; a ſphere
Out of the *road* of *buſineſs*, or the fear
Of *falling lower*; where I ſweetly may
Myſelf and dear retirement ſtill enjoy:
Let not my *life* or *name* be known unto
The grandees of time, toſt to and fro
By *cenſures* or *applauſe*; but let my *age*
Slide gently *by* not *overthwart* the ſtage
Of *public action*, unheard, unſeen.
And unconcern'd, as if I ne'er had been.
And thus, while I ſhall paſs my *ſilent* days
In *ſhady privacy*, free from the *noiſe*
And *buſtles* of the mad world, then ſhall I
A good old *innocent plebeian* die.
Death is a mere *ſurprise*, a very ſnare
To him that makes it his life's *greateſt care*,
To be a *public pageant, known to all*,
But *unacquainted* with himſelf doth fall.

Having now attained to that privacy which he no leſs ſeriouſly than piouſly wiſhed for, he calle his ſervants that had belonged to his office toge and told them, 'He had now laid down his place, 'ſo their employments were determined.' Upon he adviſed them to ſee for themſelves, and gav

ſome of them very conſiderable preſents, and to every one of them a token, and ſo diſmiſſed all thoſe that were not his domeſtics. He was diſcharged the 15th of February, 1675-6, and lived till the Chriſtmas following; but all the while was in ſo ill a ſtate of health, that there was no hopes of his recovery: he continued ſtill to retire often, both for his devotions and ſtudies; and as long as he could go, went conſtantly to his cloſet; and when his infirmities increaſed on him, ſo that he was not able to go thither himſelf, he made his ſervants carry him thither in a chair. At laſt, as the winter came on, he ſaw, with great joy, his deliverance approaching; for beſides his being weary of the world, and his longings for the bleſſedneſs of another ſtate, his pains encreaſed ſo on him, that no patience inferior to his could have borne them without a great uneaſineſs of mind; yet he expreſſed to the laſt ſuch ſubmiſſion to the will of God, and ſo equal a temper under them, that it was viſible then what mighty effects his philoſophy and Chriſtianity had on him, in ſupporting him under ſuch a heavy load.

He could not lie down in bed above a year before his death, by reaſon of the aſthma; but ſat rather than lay in it.

He was attended on in his ſickneſs by a pious and worthy divine, Mr. Evan Griffith, miniſter of the pariſh; and it was obſerved, that in all the extremities of his pain, whenever he prayed by him, he forbore all complaints or groans, but with his hands and eyes lifted up, was fixed in his devotions. Not long before his death the miniſter told him, 'There was to be a 'ſacrament next Sunday at church, but he believed he 'could not come and partake with the reſt; therefore 'he would give it to him in his own houſe:' But he anſwered, 'No; his heavenly Father had prepared a 'feaſt for him, and he would go to his Father's Houſe 'to partake of it.' So he made himſelf be carried thither in his chair, where he received the ſacrament on his knees, with great devotion; which it may be ſuppoſed

ſuppoſed was the greater, becauſe he apprehended it was to be his laſt, and ſo took it as his *viaticum*, and proviſion for his journey. He had ſome ſecret unaccountable preſages of his death; for he ſaid, 'That 'if he did not die on ſuch a day (which fell to be 'the 25th of November), he believed he ſhould live 'a month longer;' and he died that very day month. He continued to enjoy the free uſe of his reaſon and ſenſe to the laſt moment, which he had often and earneſtly prayed for, during his ſickneſs: and when his voice was ſo ſunk, that he could not be heard, they perceived by the almoſt conſtant lifting up of his eyes and hands, that he was ſtill aſpiring towards that bleſſed ſtate, of which he was now ſpeedily to be poſſeſſed.

He had for many years a particular devotion for *Chriſtmas-day*; and after he had received the ſacrament, and been in the performance of the public worſhip of that day, he commonly wrote a copy of verſes on the honour of his Saviour, as a fit expreſſion of the joy he felt in his ſoul, at the return of that glorious anniverſary. There are ſeventeen of thoſe copies printed, which he wrote on ſeventeen ſeveral *Chriſtmas-days*, by which the world has a taſte of his poetical genius; in which, if he had thought it worth his time to have excelled, he might have been eminent as well as in other things; but he wrote them rather to entertain himſelf, than to merit the laurel.

I ſhall here add one which has not been yet printed, and it is not unlikely it was the laſt he writ; it is a paraphraſe on *Simeon's ſong*. I take it from his blotted copy, not at all finiſhed; ſo the reader is to make allowance for any imperfection he may find in it:

BLESSED Creator, who before the birth
Of Time, or e'er the pillars of the Earth,
Were fixt or form'd, didſt lay that great deſign
Of Man's Redemption, and didſt define
In thine eternal council and all the ſcene
Of that ſtupendous buſineſs, and when

It

It should appear; and though the very day
Of its epiphany concealed lay
Within Thy mind, yet Thou wert pleas'd to show
Some glimpses of it, unto men below,
In visions, types, and prophecies, as we
Things at a distance in perspective see:
But Thou wert pleas'd to let thy servant know
That that blest hour, that seem'd to move so slow
Through former ages, should at last attain
Its time, e'er my few sands that yet remain
Are spent: and that these aged eyes
Should see the day when *Jacob's* star should rise.
And now Thou hast fulfill'd it, blessed Lord,
Dismiss me now, according to Thy word;
And let my aged body now return
To rest, and dust, and drop into an urn;
For I have liv'd enough, mine eyes have seen
Thy much desired Salvation, that hath been
So long, so dearly wish'd, the joy, the hope
Of all the ancient Patriarchs, the scope
Of all the prophecies, and mysteries,
Of all the types unveil'd, the histories
Of *Jewish* church unriddl'd, and the bright
And orient sun arisen to give light
To *Gentiles*, and the joy of *Israel*,
The World's Redeemer, blest *Emanuel*.
Let this sight close mine eyes; 'tis lost to see,
After this vision, any sight but Thee.

Thus he uſed to ſing on the former Chriſtmas-days, but now he was to be admitted to bear his part in the new ſongs above; ſo that day which he had ſpent in ſo much ſpiritual joy, proved to be indeed the day of his jubilee and deliverance; for between two and three in the afternoon he breathed out his righteous and pious ſoul. His end was peace; he had no ſtruggling, nor ſeemed to be in any pangs in his laſt moments. He was buried on the 4th of January, Mr. Griffith preaching the funeral ſermon; his text was the 57th of Iſaiah, verſe 1. 'The righteous periſheth, and no 'man layeth it to heart; and merciful men are taken 'away, none conſidering that the righteous is taken 'away from the evil to come;' which how fitly it was applicable upon this occaſion, all that conſider the courſe of his life will eaſily conclude. He was interred in the church-yard of Alderly, among his anceſtors;

ceſtors. He did not much approve of burying in churches, and uſed to ſay, 'The churches were for 'the living, and the church-yards for the dead.' His monument was, like himſelf, decent and plain, the tomb-ſtone was black marble, and the ſides were black and white marble; upon which he himſelf had ordered this bare and humble inſcription to be made:

HIC INHUMATUR CORPUS
MATTHEI HALE, MILITIS;
ROBERTI HALE, ET JOANNÆ,
UXORIS EJUS, FILII UNICI.
NATI IN HAC PAROCHIA DE
ALDERLY, PRIMO DIE NOVEM-
BRIS ANNO DOM. 1609.
DENATI VERO IBIDEM VICESIMO
QUINTO DIE DECEMBRIS,
ANNO DOM. 1676.
ÆTATIS SUÆ, LXVII.[1]

HAVING thus given an account of the moſt remarkable things of his Life, I am now to preſent his reader with ſuch a Character of him, as the laying his ſeveral virtues together will amount to: in which I know how difficult a taſk I undertake; for to write defectively of him, were to injure him, and leſſen the memory of one to whom I intend to do all the right that is in my power. On the other hand, there is ſo much here to be commended, and propoſed for the imitation of others, that I am afraid ſome may imagine I am rather making a picture of him, from an abſtracted idea of great virtues and perfections, than ſetting him out as he truly was: but there is great encouragement in this, that I write concerning a man ſo

[1] Here is buried the body of Matthew Hale, knight, the only ſon of Robert Hale, and Joanna his wife; born in this parish of Alderly, on the 1ſt day of November, in the year of our Lord 1609; and died in the ſame place on the 26th day of December, in the year of our Lord 1676; in the 67th year of his age.

freſh

freſh in all peoples remembrance, that is ſo lately dead, and was ſo much and ſo well known, that I ſhall have many vouchers, who will be ready to juſtify me in all that I am to relate, and to add a great deal to what I can ſay.

It has appeared in the account of his various learning, how great his capacities were, and how much they were improved by conſtant ſtudy. He roſe always early in the morning; he loved to walk much abroad, not only for his health, but he thought it opened his mind and enlarged his thoughts to have the creation of God before his eyes. When he ſet himſelf to any ſtudy, he uſed to caſt his deſign into a ſcheme, which he did with a great exactneſs of method; he took nothing on truſt, but purſued his enquiries as far as they could go; and as he was humble enough to confeſs his ignorance, and ſubmit to myſteries which he could not comprehend, ſo he was not eaſily impoſed on by any ſhews of reaſon, or the bugbears of vulgar opinions: He brought all his knowledge as much to ſcientifical principles as he poſſibly could, which made him neglect the ſtudy of tongues, for the bent of his mind lay another way. Diſcourſing once of this to ſome, they ſaid, 'They looked on the Common Law 'as a ſtudy that could not be brought into a ſcheme, 'nor formed into a rational ſcience, by reaſon of the 'indigeſtedneſs of it, and the multiplicity of the caſes 'in it, which rendered it very hard to be underſtood, 'or reduced into a method;' but he ſaid 'He was 'not of their mind;' and ſo quickly after he drew with his own hand a ſcheme of the whole order and parts of it, in a large ſheet of paper, to the great ſatisfaction of thoſe to whom he ſent it. Upon this hint, ſome preſſed him to compile a body of the Engliſh Law. It could hardly ever be done by a man who knew it better, and would with more judgment and induſtry have put it into method. But he ſaid, 'As it 'was a great and noble deſign, which would be of vaſt 'advantage to the nation, ſo it was too much for a

'private man to undertake: it was not to be entered 'upon but by the command of a Prince, and with 'the communicated endeavours of ſome of the moſt 'eminent of the profeſſion.'

He had great vivacity in his fancy, as may appear by his inclination to Poetry, and the lively illuſtrations and many tender ſtrains in his Contemplations; but he looked on eloquence and wit as things to be uſed very chaſtely in ſerious matters, which ſhould come under a ſeverer inquiry: Therefore he was both, when at the bar and on the bench, a great enemy to all eloquence or rhetoric in pleading: He ſaid, 'If 'the judge, or jury, had a right underſtanding, it 'ſignified nothing, but a waſte of time, and loſs of 'words; and if they were weak, and eaſily wrought 'on, it was a more decent way of corrupting them, 'by bribing their fancies and biaſing their affections;' and wondered much at that affectation of the French lawyers, in imitating the Roman orators in their pleadings: for the oratory of the Romans was occaſioned by their popular government, and the factions of the city: ſo that thoſe who intended to excell in the pleading of cauſes, were trained up in the ſchools of the rhetors, till they became ready and expert in that luſcious way of diſcourſe. It is true, the compoſures of ſuch a man as Tully was, who mixed an extraordinary quickneſs, an exact judgment, and a juſt decorum with his ſkill in rhetoric, do ſtill entertain the readers of them with great pleaſure; but at the ſame time, it muſt be acknowledged, that there is not that chaſtity of ſtyle, that cloſeneſs of reaſoning, nor that juſtneſs of figures in his Orations, that is in his other writings; ſo that a great deal was ſaid by him, rather becauſe he knew it would be acceptable to his auditors, than that it was approved of by himſelf; and all who read them will acknowledge, they are better pleaſed with them as eſſays of wit and ſtyle, than as pleadings, by which ſuch a judge as ours was, would not be much wrought on. And if there are ſuch grounds

grounds to cenſure the performances of the greateſt maſter in eloquence, we may eaſily infer what nauſeous diſcourſes the other orators made; ſince in oratory as well as in poetry, none can do indifferently. So our judge wondered to find the French, that live under a Monarchy, ſo fond of imitating that which was an ill effect of the popular government of Rome: He therefore pleaded himſelf always in few words, and home to the point: and when he was a judge, he held thoſe who pleaded before him to the main hinge of the buſineſs, and cut them ſhort when they made excurſions about circumſtances of no moment, by which he ſaved much time, and made the chief difficulties be well ſtated and cleared.

There was another cuſtom among the Romans, which he as much admired as he deſpiſed their rhetoric, which was, that the juris-conſults were the men of the higheſt quality, who were bred to be capable of the chief employment in the ſtate, and became the great maſters of their law. Theſe gave their opinions of all caſes that were put to them freely, judging it below them to take any preſent for it; and indeed they were the only true lawyers among them, whoſe reſolutions were of that authority that they made one claſſis of thoſe materials, out of which Trebonian compiled the digeſts under Juſtinian; for the orators, or cauſidici, that pleaded cauſes, knew little of the law, and only employed their mercenary tongues to work on the affections of the people and ſenate, or the pretors: even in moſt of Tully's Orations there is little of law; and that little which they might ſprinkle in their declamations, they had not from their own knowledge, but the reſolution of ſome juris-conſult. According to that famous ſtory of Servius Sulpitius, who was a celebrated orator; and being to receive the reſolution of one of thoſe that were learned in the law, was ſo ignorant, that he could not underſtand it; upon which the juris-conſult reproached him, and ſaid, 'It was a ſhame for him that was a Nobleman, a Se-

'nator, and a Pleader of Cauſes, to be thus ignorant 'of Law.' This touched him to ſenſibly, that he ſet about the ſtudy of it, and became one of the moſt eminent juris-conſults that ever were at Rome. Our judge thought it might become the greatneſs of a prince, to encourage ſuch ſort of men, and of ſtudies; in which none in the age he lived in was equal to the great Selden, who was truly in our Engliſh law, what the old Roman juris-conſults were in theirs.

But where a decent eloquence was allowable, Judge Hale knew how to have excelled as much as any, either in illuſtrating his reaſonings by proper and well purſued ſimilies, or by ſuch tender expreſſions as might work moſt on the affections; ſo that the preſent lord chancellor has often ſaid of him, ſince his death, 'That he was the greateſt 'orator he had known;' for though his words came not fluently from him, yet when they were out, they were the moſt ſignificant and expreſſive that the matter could bear. Of this ſort there are many in his Contemplations made to quicken his own devotion, which have a life in them becoming him that uſed them, and a ſoftneſs fit to melt even the harſheſt tempers, accommodated to the gravity of the ſubject, and apt to excite warm thoughts in the readers; that as they ſhew his excellent temper that brought them out, and applied them to himſelf; ſo they are of great uſe to all who would both inform and quicken their minds. Of his illuſtrations of things by proper ſimilies, I ſhall give a large inſtance out of his book of the Origination of Mankind, deſigned to expoſe the ſeveral different hypotheſes the Philoſophers fell on concerning the eternity and original of the univerſe, and to prefer the account given by Moſes to all their conjectures; in which, if my taſte does not miſguide me, the reader will find a rare and very agreeable mixture both of fine wit and ſolid learning and judgment.

'That

'That which may illuſtrate my meaning, in this 'preference of the revealed light of the Holy Scripures, 'touching this matter, above the eſſay of philoſophical 'imagination, may be this. Suppoſe that *Greece* being 'unacquainted with the curioſity of mechanical en- 'gines, though known in ſome remote region of the 'world; and that an excellent artiſt had ſecretly 'brought and depoſited in ſome field or foreſt, ſome 'excellent watch or clock, which had been ſo formed, 'that the original of its motion were hidden, and in- 'volved in ſome cloſe contrived piece of mechaniſm, 'that this watch was ſo framed, that the motion thereof 'might have laſted a year, or ſome ſuch time, as might 'give a reaſonable period for their philoſophical de- 'ſcanting concerning it; and that in the plain table there 'had been not only the deſcription and indication of 'hours, but the configurations and indications of the va- 'rious phaſes of the moon, the motion and place of the 'ſun in the ecliptic, and divers other curious indica- 'tions of celeſtial motions; and that the ſcholars of 'the ſeveral ſchools of Epicurus, of Ariſtotle, of Plato, 'and the reſt of thoſe philoſophical ſects, had caſually 'in their walk, found this admirable automaton; 'what kind of work would there have been made by 'every ſect in giving an account of this phenomenon? 'We ſhould have had the Epicurean ſect have told 'the by-ſtanders, according to their preconceived 'hypotheſis, 'That this was nothing elſe but an ac- 'cidental concretion of atoms, that happily falling to- 'gether, had made up the index, the wheels, and 'the balance; and that being happily fallen into 'this poſture, they were put into motion.' Then 'the Carteſian falls in with him, as to the main of 'their ſuppoſition; but tells him, 'That he doth 'not ſufficiently explicate how the engine is put into 'motion; and therefore to furniſh this motion, there 'is a certain *materia ſubtilis* that pervades this engine, 'and the movable parts, conſiſting of certain globular 'atoms apt for motion; they are thereby, and by

'the mobility of the globular atoms, put into motion.' 'A third finding fault with the two former, becauſe 'thoſe motions are ſo regular, and do expreſs the 'various phenomena of the diſtribution of time, and 'the heavenly motions; therefore it ſeems to him, 'that this engine, and motion alſo, ſo analogical to 'the motions of the heavens, were wrought by ſome 'admirable conjunction of the heavenly bodies, which 'formed this inſtrument and its motions in ſuch an 'admirable correſpondency to its own exiſtence. 'A fourth, diſliking the ſuppoſitions of the three 'former, tells the reſt, 'That he hath a more plain 'and evident ſolution of the phenomenon, namely, 'the univerſal ſoul of the world, or ſpirit of nature, 'that formed ſo many ſorts of inſects with ſo many 'organs, faculties, and ſuch congruity of their whole 'compoſition, and ſuch curious and various motions, 'as we may obſerve in them, hath formed and ſet 'into motion this admirable automaton, and regulated 'and ordered it, with all thoſe congruities we ſee in 'it.' Then ſteps in an Ariſtotelian; and being diſ- 'ſatisfied with all the former ſolutions, tells them, '' Gentlemen, you are all miſtaken; your ſolutions 'are inexplicable and unſatisfactory; you have taken 'up certain precarious hypotheſes, and being pre- 'poſſeſſed with theſe creatures of your own fancies, 'and in love with them, right or wrong you form all 'your conceptions of things according to thoſe fancied 'and preconceived imaginations. The ſhort of the 'buſineſs is, this *machina* is eternal, and ſo are all the 'motions of it; and inaſmuch as a circular motion 'hath no beginning or end, this motion that you ſee 'both in the wheels and index, and the ſucceſſive 'indications of the celeſtial motions, is eternal, and 'without beginning. And this is a ready and expe- 'dite way of ſolving the phenomena, without ſo much 'ado as you have made about it.' '

'And whilſt all the maſters were thus contriving 'the ſolution of the phenomenon, in the hearing of the

'the artiſt that made it; and when they had all ſpent 'their philoſophizing upon it, the artiſt that made 'this engine, and all this while liſtened to their ad- 'miral fancies, tells them, 'Gentlemen, you have 'diſcovered very much excellency of invention, touch- 'ing this piece of work that is before you; but you 'are all miſerably miſtaken; for it was I that made 'this watch, and brought it hither, and I will ſhew 'you how I made it. Firſt, I wrought the ſpring, 'and the fuſee, and the wheels, and the balance, and 'the caſe and the table; I fitted them one to another, 'placed theſe ſeveral axes that are to direct the 'motions of the index, to diſcover the hour of the 'day, of the figure that diſcovers the phaſes of the 'moon, and the other various motions that you ſee; 'and then I put it together, and wound up the ſpring, 'which hath given all theſe motions that you ſee in 'this curious piece of work; and that you may be ſure 'I tell you true, I will tell you the whole order and 'progreſs of my making, diſpoſing, and ordering of 'this piece of work; the ſeveral materials of it; the 'manner of the forming of every individual part of 'it, and how long I was about it. This plain and 'evident diſcovery renders all theſe excogitated hy- 'potheſes of theſe philoſophical enthuſiaſts vain and 'ridiculous, without any great help of rhetorical 'flouriſhes, or logical confutations. And much of 'the ſame nature is that diſparity of the hypotheſes 'of the learned philoſophers, in relation to the origi- 'nation of the world and man, after a great deal of 'duſt raiſed, and fanciful explications, and unintelligi- 'ble hypotheſes. The plain, but Divine Narrative by 'the hand of Moſes, full of ſenſe, and congruity, and 'clearneſs, and reaſonableneſs in itſelf, does at the 'ſame moment give us a true and clear diſcovery of 'this great myſtery, and renders all the eſſays of the 'generality of the heathen philoſophers to be vain, 'inevident, and, indeed, inexplicable theories, the 'creatures of phantaſy and imagination, and nothing 'elſe.'

As

As for his *Virtues*, they have appeared ſo conſpicuous in all the ſeveral tranſactions and turns of his life, that it may ſeem needleſs to add any more of them than has been already related; but there are many particular inſtances which I knew not how to fit to the ſeveral years of his life, which will give us a clearer and better view of him.

He was a devout Chriſtian, a ſincere proteſtant, and a true ſon of the church of England; moderate towards diſſenters, and juſt even with thoſe from whom he differed moſt; which appeared ſignally in the care he took in a caſe of the Quakers, wherein he was very cautious in declaring their marriages void, and ſo baſtardizing their children; but he conſidered marriage and ſucceſſion as a right of nature, from which none ought to be barred, what miſtake ſoever they might be under in the points of revealed religion.

And therefore, in a trial that was before him, when a Quaker was ſued for ſome debts owing by his wife before he married her, and the Quaker's counſel pretended, 'that it was no marriage that had paſt be-'tween them, ſince it was not ſolemnized according 'to the rules of the church of England;' he declared that he was not willing, on his own opinion, to make their children baſtards, and gave directions to the jury to find it ſpecial, which they did. It was a reflection on the whole party, that one of them, to avoid an inconvenience he had fallen into, thought to have preſerved himſelf by a defence, that if it had been allowed in law, muſt have made their whole iſſue baſtards, and incapable of ſucceſſion; and for all their pretended friendſhip to one another, if this judge had not been more their *friend* than one of thoſe they ſo called, their poſterity had been little beholding to them. But he governed himſelf, indeed, by the law of the Goſpel, of 'doing to others what he would have 'others do to him;' and therefore becauſe he would have thought it a hardſhip not without a cruelty, if amongſt Papiſts all marriages were nulled which had not been made with all the ceremonies in the Roman ritual; ſo

he,

he, applying this to the caſe of the ſectaries, thought all marriages made according to the ſeveral perſuaſions of men, ought to have their effects in law.

He uſed conſtantly to worſhip God in his family, performing it always himſelf, if there was no clergyman preſent. But as to his *private exerciſes* in devotion, he took that extraordinary care to keep what he did ſecret, that this part of his character muſt be defective, except it be acknowledged that his humility in covering it, commends him much more than the higheſt expreſſions of devotion could have done.

From the firſt time that the impreſſions of religion ſettled deeply in his mind, he uſed great caution to conceal it, not only in obedience to the rules given by our Saviour, of faſting, praying, and giving alms in ſecret, but from a particular diſtruſt he had of himſelf; for he ſaid he was afraid he ſhould at ſome time or other do ſome enormous thing, which, if he were looked on as a very religious man, might caſt a reproach on the profeſſion of it, and give great advantages to impious men to blaſpheme the name of God: but a tree is known by its fruits; and he lived not only free of blemiſhes, or ſcandal, but ſhined in all the parts of his converſation: and, perhaps, the diſtruſt he was in of himſelf contributed not a little to the purity of his life; for he being thereby obliged to be more watchful over himſelf, and to depend more on the aids of the Spirit of God, no wonder if that humble temper produced thoſe excellent effects in him.

He had a ſoul enlarged and raiſed above that mean appetite of loving money, which is generally the root of all evil. He did not take the profits that he might have had by his practice; for, in common caſes, when thoſe who came to aſk his counſel gave him a piece, he uſed to give back the half, and ſo made ten ſhillings his fee, in ordinary matters that did not require much time or ſtudy. If he ſaw a cauſe was unjuſt, he, for a great while, would not meddle any further in it, but to give his advice that it was ſo; if the parties after

after that would go on, they were to ſeek another counſellor, for he would aſſiſt none in acts of injuſtice: if he found the cauſe doubtful or weak in point of law, he always adviſed his clients to agree their buſineſs. Yet afterwards he abated much of the ſcrupuloſity he had about cauſes that appeared at firſt view unjuſt, upon this occaſion: There were two cauſes brought to him, which, by the ignorance of the party, or their attorney, were ſo ill repreſented to him, that they ſeemed to be very bad; but he enquiring more narrowly into them, found they were really very good and juſt: ſo after this he ſlackened much of his former ſtrictneſs, of refuſing to meddle in cauſes upon the ill circumſtances that appeared in them at firſt.

In his pleading he abhorred thoſe too common faults of mis-reciting evidences, quoting precedents or books falſely, or aſſerting things confidently; by which ignorant juries, or weak judges, are too often wrought on. He pleaded with the ſame ſincerity that he uſed in the other parts of his life; and uſed to ſay, 'It 'was as great a diſhonour as a man was capable of, 'that for a little money he was to be hired to ſay or 'do otherwiſe than as he thought.' All this he aſcribed to the unmeaſurable deſire of heaping up wealth, which corrupted the ſouls of ſome that ſeemed otherwiſe born and made for great things.

When he was a practitioner, differences were often referred to him, which he ſettled, but would accept of no reward for his pains, though offered by both parties together, after the agreement was made; for he ſaid, 'In thoſe caſes he was made a judge, and a judge 'ought to take no money.' If they told him, 'He 'loſt much of his time in conſidering their buſineſs, 'and ſo ought to be acknowledged for it,' his anſwer was (as one that heard it told me) 'Can I ſpend my 'time better than to make people friends? Muſt I have 'no time allowed me to do good in?'

He was naturally a quick man; yet by much practice on himſelf, he ſubdued that to ſuch a degree, that

that he would never run ſuddenly into any concluſion concerning any matter of importance. *Feſtina lente*[1] was his beloved motto, which he ordered to be engraven on the head of his ſtaff; and was often heard to ſay, 'That he had obſerved many witty men run into 'great errors, becauſe they did not give themſelves 'time to think; but the heat of imagination making 'ſome notions appear in good colours to them, they, 'without ſtaying till that cooled, were violently led 'by the impulſes it made on them; whereas calm and 'ſlow men, who paſs for dull in the common eſtima-'tion, could ſearch for truth, and find it out, as with 'more deliberation, ſo with greater certainty.'

He laid aſide the tenth-penny of all he got for the poor; and took great care to be well informed of proper objects for his charities. And after he was a judge, many of the perquiſites of his place, as his dividend of the rule and box-money, were ſent by him to the jails to diſcharge poor priſoners, who never knew from whoſe hands their relief came. It is alſo a cuſtom for the marſhal of the King's-bench to preſent the judges of that court with a piece of plate for a new-year's-gift, that for the chief juſtice being larger than the reſt. This he intended to have refuſed; but the other judges told him it belonged to his office, and the refuſing it would be a prejudice to his ſucceſſors, ſo he was perſuaded to take it; but he ſent word to the marſhal, 'That inſtead of plate, he ſhould bring him the value of it in money;' and when he received it, he immediately ſent it to the priſons for the relief and diſcharge of the poor there. He uſually invited his poor neighbours to dine with him, and made them ſit at table with himſelf. And if any of them were ſick, ſo that they could not come, he would ſend meat warm to them from his table. And he did not only relieve the poor in his own pariſh, but ſent ſupplies to the neighbouring pariſhes, as there was occaſion for it. And he treated them all with the tenderneſs and familiarity that became one who conſidered they were of

[1] The more haste the worse speed.

the

while a counſellor, and his conſtant, frugal, and modeſt way of living, was but a ſmall fortune. In the ſhare that fell to him by Mr. Selden's will, one memorable thing was done by him with the other executors, by which they both ſhewed their regard to their dead friend, and their love of the public. His library was valued at ſome thouſands of pounds, and was believed to be one of the moſt curious collections in Europe; ſo they reſolved to keep this entire for the honour of Selden's memory, and gave it to the univerſity of Oxford, where a noble room was added to the former library for its reception; and all due reſpects have been ſince ſhewed by that great and learned body to thoſe their worthy benefactors, who not only parted ſo generouſly with this great treaſure, but were a little put to it how to oblige them, without croſſing the will of their dead friend. Mr. Selden had once intended to give his library to that univerſity, and had left it ſo by his will; but having occaſion for a manuſcript which belonged to their library, they aſked of him a bond of a thouſand pounds for its reſtitution; this he took ſo ill at their hands, that he ſtruck out that part of his will by which he had given them his library, and with ſome paſſion declared, they ſhould never have it. The executors ſtuck at this a little; but having conſidered better of it, came to this reſolution, that they were to be the executors of Mr. Selden's will, and not of his paſſion; ſo they made good what he had intended in cold blood, and paſt over what his paſſion had ſuggeſted to him.

The parting with ſo many excellent books would have been as uneaſy to our judge, as any thing of that nature could be, if a pious regard to his friend's memory had not prevailed over him; for he valued books and manuſcripts above all things in the world. He himſelf had made a great and rare collection of manuſcripts belonging to the law of England; he was forty years in gathering it. He himſelf ſaid, 'it coſt him 'above fifteen hundred pounds,' and calls it in his will

will, 'a treaſure worth having and keeping, and not 'fit for every man's view.' Theſe all he left to Lincoln's-inn; and, for the information of thoſe who are curious to ſearch into ſuch things, there ſhall be a catalogue of them added at the end of this book.

By all theſe inſtances it does appear how much he was raiſed above the world, or the love of it. But having thus maſtered things without him, his next ſtudy was to overcome his own inclinations: he was, as he ſaid himſelf, *naturally paſſionate*; I add, *as he ſaid himſelf*, for that appeared by no other evidence, ſave that ſometimes his colour would riſe a little; but he ſo governed himſelf, that thoſe who lived long about him, have told me they never ſaw him diſordered with anger, though he met with ſome trials that the nature of man is as little able to bear as any whatſoever. There was one who did him a great injury, which is not neceſſary to mention, who coming afterwards to him for his advice in the ſettlement of his eſtate, he gave it very frankly to him, but would accept of no fee for it, and thereby ſhewed both that he could forgive as a Chriſtian, and that he had the ſoul of a gentleman in him, not to take money of one that wronged him ſo heinouſly. And when he was aſked by one, 'How he could uſe a man 'ſo kindly, that had wronged him ſo much,' his anſwer was, 'He thanked God he had learned to 'forget injuries.' And beſides the great temper he expreſſed in all his public employments, in his family he was a very gentle maſter: he was tender of all his ſervants, he never turned any away, except they were ſo faulty, that there was no hope of reclaiming them: when any of them had been long out of the way, or had neglected any part of their duty, he would not ſee them at their firſt coming home, and ſometimes not till the next day, leſt when his diſpleaſure was quick upon him, he might have chid them indecently; and when he did reprove them, he did it with that ſweetneſs and gravity, that it appeared he was more

concerned for their having done a fault, than for the offence given by it to himſelf: but if they became immoral or unruly, he then turned them away, for he ſaid, 'he that by his place ought to puniſh diſorders 'in other people, muſt by no means ſuffer them in 'his own houſe.' He advanced his ſervants according to the time they had been about him, and would never give occaſion to envy amongſt them, by raiſing the younger clerks above thoſe who had been longer with him. He treated them all with great affection, rather as a friend than a maſter, giving them often good advice and inſtruction. He made thoſe who had good places under him, give ſome of their profits to the other ſervants who had nothing but their wages. When he made his will, he left legacies to every one of them; but he expreſſed a more particular kindneſs for one of them, Robert Gibbon, of the Middle Temple, Eſq. in whom he had that confidence, that he left him one of his executors. I the rather mention him becauſe of his noble gratitude to his worthy benefactor and maſter, for he has been ſo careful to preſerve his memory, that as he ſet thoſe on me, at whoſe deſire I undertook to write his Life, ſo he has procured for me a great part of thoſe memorials and informations, out of which I have compoſed it.

The Judge was of a moſt tender and compaſſionate nature; this did eminently appear in his trying and giving ſentence upon criminals, in which he was ſtrictly careful, that not a circumſtance ſhould be neglected, which might any way clear the fact. He behaved himſelf with that regard to the priſoners, which became both the gravity of a judge, and the pity that was due to men whoſe lives lay at ſtake, ſo that nothing of jeering or unreaſonable ſeverity fell from him. He alſo examined the witneſſes in the ſofteſt manner, taking care that they ſhould be put under no confuſion, which might diſorder their memory: and he ſummed all the evidence ſo equally when he charged the jury, that the criminals themſelves never complained

complained of him. When it came to him to give ſentence, he did it with that compoſedneſs and decency, and his ſpeeches to the priſoners, directing them to prepare for death, were ſo weighty, ſo free of all affectation, and ſo ſerious and devout, that many loved to go to the trials when he ſat judge, to be edified by his ſpeeches and behaviour in them, and uſed to ſay, 'they heard very few ſuch ſermons.'

But though the pronouncing the ſentence of death was the piece of his employment that went moſt againſt the grain with him; yet in that he could never be mollified to any tenderneſs which hindered juſtice. When he was once preſſed to recommend ſome (whom he had condemned) to his majeſty's mercy and pardon, he anſwered, 'He could not think 'they deſerved a pardon whom he himſelf adjudged 'to die:' ſo that all he would do in that kind was to give the king a true account of the circumſtances of the fact, after which, his majeſty was to conſider whether he would interpoſe his mercy, or let juſtice take place.

His mercifulneſs extended even to his beaſts; for when the horſes that he had kept long grew old, he would not ſuffer them to be ſold, or much wrought, but ordered his men to turn them looſe on his grounds, and put them only to eaſy work, ſuch as going to market, and the like; he uſed old dogs alſo with the ſame care: his ſhepherd having one that was become blind with age, he intended to have killed or loſt him, but the judge coming to hear of it, made one of his ſervants bring him home and feed him till he died: and he was ſcarce ever ſeen more angry than with one of his ſervants for neglecting a bird that he kept, ſo that it died for want of food.

He was a great encourager of all young perſons that he ſaw followed their books diligently, to whom he uſed to give directions concerning the method of their ſtudy, with a humanity and ſweetneſs that wrought much on all that came near him: and in a

ſmiling pleaſant way he would admoniſh them if he ſaw any thing amiſs in them: particularly if they went too fine in their clothes, he would tell them, 'it did 'not become their profeſſion.' He was not pleaſed to ſee ſtudents wear long perriwigs, or attornies go with ſwords; ſo that ſuch young men as would not be perſuaded to part with thoſe vanities, when they went to him laid them aſide, and went as plain as they could, to avoid the reproof which they knew they might otherwiſe expect.

He was very free and communicative in his diſcourſe, which he moſt commonly fixed on ſome good and uſeful ſubject, and loved, for an hour or two at night, to be viſited by ſome of his friends. He neither ſaid nor did any thing with affectation, but uſed a ſimplicity, that was both natural to himſelf, and very eaſy to others; and though he never ſtudied the modes of civility or court breeding, yet he knew not what it was to be rude or harſh with any, except he were impertinently addreſſed to in matters of juſtice, then he would raiſe his voice a little, and ſo ſhake off thoſe importunities.

In his furniture, and the ſervice of his table, and way of living, he liked the old plainneſs ſo well, that as he would ſet up none of the new faſhions, ſo he rather affected a coarſeneſs in the uſe of the old ones; which was more the effect of his philoſophy than diſpoſition, for he loved fine things too much at firſt. He was always of an equal temper, rather chearful than merry. Many wondered to ſee the evenneſs of his deportment in ſome very ſad paſſages of his life.

Having loſt one of his ſons, the manner of whoſe death had ſome grievous circumſtances in it, one coming to ſee him and condole, he ſaid to him, 'Thoſe were the effects of living long, ſuch muſt look 'to ſee many ſad and unacceptable things;' and having ſaid that, he went to other diſcourſes, with his ordinary freedom of mind; for though he had a temper ſo tender, that ſad things were apt enough to make

make deep impreſſions upon him, yet the regard he had to the wiſdom and providence of God, and the juſt eſtimate he made of external things, did to admiration maintain the tranquillity of his mind; and he gave no occaſion, by idleneſs, or melancholy, to corrupt his ſpirit, but by the perpetual bent of his thoughts, he knew well how to divert them from being oppreſſed with the exceſſes of ſorrow.

He had a generous and noble idea of God in his mind, and this he found did above all other conſiderations preſerve his quiet. And indeed that was ſo well eſtabliſhed in him, that no accidents, how ſudden ſoever, were obſerved to diſcompoſe him; of which an eminent man of that profeſſion gave me this inſtance. In the year 1666, an opinion did run through the nation, 'that the end of the world would come 'that year.' This, whether ſet on by aſtrologers, or advanced by thoſe who thought it might have ſome relation to the number of the Beaſt in the *Revelation*, or promoted by men of ill deſigns to diſturb the public peace, had ſpread mightily among the people; and Judge Hale going that year the weſtern circuit, it happened, that as he was on the bench at the aſſizes, a moſt terrible ſtorm fell out very unexpectedly, accompanied with ſuch flaſhes of lightning and claps of thunder, that the like will hardly fall out in an age; upon which a whiſper or rumour run through the crowd, 'that now the world was to end, and the 'day of judgment to begin,' and at this there followed a general conſternation in the whole aſſembly, and all men forgot the buſineſs they were met about, and betook themſelves to their prayers: This, added to the horror raiſed by the ſtorm, looked very diſmally; inſomuch that my author, a man of no ordinary reſolution and firmneſs of mind, confeſſed it made a great impreſſion on himſelf. But he told me, that he did obſerve the judge was not a whit affected, and was going on with the buſineſs of the court in his ordinary manner; from which he made this concluſion,

that his thoughts were ſo well fixed, that he believed if the world had been really to end, it would have given him no conſiderable diſturbance.

But I ſhall now conclude all that I ſhall ſay concerning him, with what one of the greateſt men of the profeſſion of the law ſent me as an abſtract of the character he had made of him, upon long obſervation, and much converſe with him: It was ſent me, that from thence with the other materials, I might make ſuch a repreſentation of him to the world, as he indeed deſerved, but I reſolved not to ſhred it out in parcels, but to ſet it down entirely as it was ſent me, hoping, that as the reader will be much delighted with it, ſo the noble perſon that ſent it, will not be offended with me for keeping it intire, and ſetting it in the beſt light I could: It begins abruptly, being deſigned to ſupply the defects of others, from whom I had earlier and more copious information.

'He would never be brought to diſcourſe of public matters in private converſation, but in queſtions of law, when any young lawyer put a caſe to him, he was very communicative, eſpecially while he was at the bar: but when he came to the bench, he grew more reſerved, and would never ſuffer his opinion in any caſe to be known, till he was obliged to declare it judicially; and he concealed his opinion in great caſes ſo carefully, that the reſt of the judges in the ſame court could never perceive it: his reaſon was, becauſe every judge ought to give ſentence according to his own perſuaſion and conſcience, and not to be ſwayed by any reſpect or deference to another man's opinion: and by this means it happened ſometimes, that when all the barons of the Exchequer delivered their opinions, and agreed in their reaſons and arguments; yet he coming to ſpeak laſt, and differing in judgment from them, hath expreſt himſelf with ſo much weight and ſolidity, that the barons have immediately retracted their votes, and concurred with him. He hath

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ſat as a judge in all the courts of law, and in two of them as chief, but ſtill wherever he ſat all buſineſs of conſequence followed him, and no man was content to ſit down by the judgment of any other court, till the caſe was brought before him, to ſee whether he were of the ſame mind; and his opinion being once known, men did readily acquieſce in it; and it was very rarely ſeen, that any man attempted to bring it about again, and he that did ſo, did it upon great diſadvantages, and was always looked upon as a very contentious perſon; ſo that what Cicero ſays of Brutus, did very often happen to him, *Etiam quos contra ſtatuit æquos placatoſque dimiſit* [1].

'Nor did men reverence his judgment and opinion in courts of law only, but his authority was as great in courts of equity, and the ſame reſpect and ſubmiſſion was paid him there too; and this appeared not only in his own court of equity in the Exchequer Chamber, but in the Chancery too, for thither he was often called to adviſe and aſſiſt the lord chancellor, or lord keeper, for the time being; and if the cauſe were of difficult examination, or intricated and entangled with variety of ſettlements, no man ever ſhewed a more clear and diſcerning judgment: If it were of great value, and great perſons intereſted in it, no man ſhewed greater courage and integrity in laying aſide all reſpect of perſons. When he came to deliver his opinion, he always put his diſcourſe into ſuch a method, that one part of it gave light to the other, and where the proceedings of chancery might prove inconvenient to the ſubject, he never ſpared to obſerve and reprove them: And from his obſervations and diſcourſes, the Chancery hath taken occaſion to eſtabliſh many of thoſe rules by which it governs itſelf at this day.

'He did look upon Equity as a part of the common law, and one of the grounds of it; and therefore as near as he could he did always reduce it to certain rules and principles, that men might ſtudy it as a ſcience, and not think the adminiſtration of it

had any thing arbitrary in it. Thus eminent was this man in every ſtation, and into what court ſoever he was called, he quickly made it appear, that he deſerved the chief ſeat there.

'As great a lawyer as he was, he would never ſuffer the ſtrictneſs of law to prevail againſt conſcience; as great a chancellor as he was, he would make uſe of all the niceties and ſubtilties in law, when it tended to ſupport right and equity. But nothing was more admirable in him than his patience: he did not affect the reputation of quickneſs and diſpatch, by a haſty and captious hearing of the counſel: he would bear with the meaneſt, and give every man his full ſcope, thinking it much better to loſe time than patience. In ſumming up of an evidence to a jury, he would always require the bar to interrupt him if he did miſtake, and to put him in mind of it if he did forget the leaſt circumſtance. Some judges have been diſturbed at this as a rudeneſs, which he always looked upon as a ſervice and reſpect done to him.

'His whole life was nothing elſe but a continual courſe of labour and induſtry, and when he could borrow any time from the public ſervice, it was wholly employed either in philoſophical or divine meditations, and even that was a public ſervice too as it hath proved; for they have occaſioned his writing of ſuch treatiſes, as are become the choiceſt entertainment of wiſe and good men, and the world hath reaſon to wiſh that more of them were printed. He that conſiders the active part of his life, and with what unwearied diligence and application of mind, he diſpatched all men's buſineſs which came under his care, will wonder how he could find any time for contemplation: he that conſiders again the various ſtudies he paſt through, and the many collections and obſervations he hath made, may as juſtly wonder how he could find any time for action: but no man can wonder at the exemplary piety and innocence of ſuch a life ſo ſpent as this was, wherein as he was careful to avoid every idle word, ſo it is manifeſt

nifeſt he never ſpent an idle day. They who come far ſhort of this great man, will be apt enough to think that this is a panegyric, which indeed is a hiſtory, and but a little part of that hiſtory which was with great truth to be related of him: men who deſpair of attaining ſuch perfection, are not willing to believe that any man elſe did ever arrive at ſuch a height.

'He was the greateſt lawyer of the age, and might have had what practice he pleaſed, but though he did moſt conſcientiouſly affect the labours of his profeſſion, yet at the ſame time he deſpiſed the gain of it; and of thoſe profits which he would allow himſelf to receive, he always ſet apart a tenth penny for the poor, which he ever diſpenſed with that ſecrecy, that they who were relieved, ſeldom or never knew their benefactor. He took more pains to avoid the honours and preferments of the gown, than others do to compaſs them. His modeſty was beyond all example, for where ſome men, who never attained to half his knowledge, have been puffed up with a high conceit of themſelves, and have affected all occaſions of raiſing their own eſteem by depreciating other men; he on the contrary was the moſt obliging man that ever practiſed: if a young gentleman happened to be retained to argue a point in law, where he was on the contrary ſide, he would very often mend the objections when he came to repeat them, and always commend the gentleman if there were room for it, and one good word of his was of more advantage to a young man, than all the favour of the Court could be.'

Having thus far purſued his Hiſtory and Character, in the public and exemplary parts of his life, without interrupting the thread of the relation with what was private and domeſtic, I ſhall conclude with a ſhort account of theſe.

He was twice married; his firſt wife was Anne, daughter of Sir Henry Moore, of Faly, in Berkſhire, grandchild to Sir Francis Moore, ſerjeant at law; by her he had ten children, the four firſt died young, the other

other ſix lived to be all married; and he outlived them all except his eldeſt daughter and his youngeſt ſon, who are yet alive.

His eldeſt ſon Robert married Frances the daughter of Sir Francis Chock, of Avington in Berkſhire; and they both dying in a little time one after another, left five children, two ſons, Matthew and Gabriel, and three daughters, Ann, Mary, and Frances; and by the Judge's advice, they both made him their executor; ſo he took his grandchildren into his own care, and among them he left his eſtate.

His ſecond ſon Matthew married Anne the daughter of Mr. Matthew Simmonds, of Hilſley, in Glouceſterſhire, who died ſoon after, and left one ſon behind him, named Matthew.

His third ſon Thomas married Rebecca the daughter of Chriſtian le Brune, a Dutch merchant, and died without iſſue.

His fourth ſon Edward married Mary the daughter of Edmund Goodyere, Eſq. of Heythorp, in Oxfordſhire, and ſtill lives; he has two ſons, and three daughters.

His eldeſt daughter Mary was married to Edward Alderly, ſon of Edward Alderly, of Inniſhannon, in the county of Cork, in Ireland; who dying, left her with two ſons and three daughters; ſhe is ſince married to Edward Stephens, ſon to Edward Stephens, Eſq. of Cherington, in Glouceſterſhire. His youngeſt daughter Elizabteh was married to Edward Webb, Eſq. barriſter at law; ſhe died, leaving two children, a ſon and a daughter.

His ſecond wife was Anne, the daughter of Mr. Joſeph Biſhop, of Faly, in Berkſhire, by whom he had no children; he gives her a great character in his will, as a moſt dutiful, faithful, and loving wife, and therefore truſted the breeding of his grandchildren to her care, and left her one of his executors, to whom he joined Sir Robert Jenkinſon and Mr. Gibbon. So much may ſuffice of thoſe deſcended from him.

In after-times, it is not to be doubted, but it will be

be reckoned no ſmall honour to derive from him: and this has made me more particular in reckoning up his iſſue. I ſhall next give an account of the iſſues of his mind, his Books, that are either printed, or remain in manuſcript; for the laſt of theſe by his will he has forbid the printing of any of them after his death, except ſuch as he ſhould give order for in his life: but he ſeems to have changed his mind afterwards, and to have left it to the diſcretion of his executors which of them might be printed; for though he does not expreſs that, yet he ordered by a codicil, 'that if 'any book of his writing, as well touching the com-'mon law, as other ſubjects, ſhould be printed, then 'what ſhould be given for the conſideration of 'the copy, ſhould be divided into ten ſhares, of 'which he appointed ſeven to go among his ſer-'vants, and three to thoſe who had copied them 'out, and were to look after the impreſſions.' The reaſon, as I have underſtood it, that made him ſo unwilling to have any of his works printed after his death, was, 'that he apprehended in the licenſing 'them,' (which was neceſſary before any book could be lawfully printed, by a law then in force, but ſince his death determined) 'ſome things might have been 'ſtruck out, or altered;' which he had obſerved, not without ſome indignation, had been done to a part of the reports of one whom he had much eſteemed.

'This, in matters of law,' he ſaid, 'might prove 'to be of ſuch miſchievous conſequence, that he 'thereupon reſolved none of his writings ſhould be 'at the mercy of licenſers;' and therefore becauſe he was not ſure that they ſhould be publiſhed without expurgations or interpolations, he 'forbade the printing 'any of them;' in which he afterwards made ſome alteration, at leaſt he gave occaſion by his codicil to infer that he had altered his mind.

This I have the more fully explained, that his laſt will may be no way miſunderſtood, and that his worthy executors, and his hopeful grandchildren, may not conclude

conclude themſelves to be under an indiſpenſable obligation, of depriving the public of his excellent writings.

A Catalogue of all his Books that are Printed, and are to be ſold by William Shrowsbury, at the ſign of the Bible, in Duke-Lane.

1. THE Primitive Origination of Mankind, conſidered and examined according to the Light of Nature. Fol.
2. Contemplations Moral and Divine, Part 1. Octavo.
3. Contemplations Moral and Divine, Part 2.
4. Difficiles Nugæ, or Obſervations touching the Torricellian Experiment, and the various Solutions of the ſame, eſpecially touching the Weight and Elaſticity of Air. Octavo.
5. An Eſſay touching the Gravitation, or Non-Gravitation, of fluid Bodies, and the Reaſons thereof. Octavo.
6. Obſervations touching the Principles of Natural Motions, and eſpecially touching Rarefaction and Condenſation; together with a reply to certain remarks touching the Gravitation of Fluids. Octavo.
7. The Life and Death of Pomponius Atticus, written by his Contemporary and Acquaintance, Cornelius Nepos, tranſlated out of his Fragments; together with Obſervations, Political and Moral, thereupon. Octavo.
8. Pleas of the Crown, or a Methodical Summary of the Principal Matters relating to that ſubject. Octavo.

MANUSCRIPTS OF HIS NOT YET PUBLISHED.

1. Concerning the Secondary Origination of Mankind. Fol.
2. Concerning Religion, 5 vol. in Fol. viz.
   1. De Deo. Vox Metaphyſica, pars 1. & 2.
   2. Pars 3. Vox Naturæ, Providentiæ, Ethicæ, Conſcientiæ.
   3. Liber ſextus, ſeptimus, octavus.
   4. Pars 9. Concerning the Holy Scriptures, their Evidence and Authority.
   5. Concerning the truth of the H. Scriptures, and the Evidences thereof.
3. Of Policy in Matters of Religion. Fol.
4. De Anima, to Mr. B. Fol.
5. De Anima, Tranſactions between him and Mr. B. Fol.
6. Tentamina, de Ortu, Natura & Immortalitate Animæ. Fol.

7. Mag-

7. Magnetismus Magneticus. Fol.
8. Magnetismus Physicus. Fol.
9. Magnetismus Divinus.
10. De Generatione Animalium & Vegetabilium. Fol. Lat.
11. Of the Law of Nature. Fol.
12. A Letter of Advice to his Grandchildren. Quarto.
13. Placita Coronæ. 7 vol. Fol.
14. Preparatory Notes concerning the Right of the Crown. Fol.
15. Incepta de Juribus Coronæ. Fol.
16. De Prerogativa Regis. Fol.
17. Preparatory Notes touching Parliamentary Proceedings, 2 vol. Quarto.
18. Of the Jurisdiction of the House of Lords. Quarto.
19. Of the Jurisdiction of the Admiralty.
20. Touching Ports and Customs. Fol.
21. Of the Right of the Sea, and the Arms thereof, and Custom. Fol.
22. Concerning the Advancement of Trade. Quarto.
23. Of Sheriffs Accounts. Fol.
24. Copies of Evidences. Fol.
25. Mr. Selden's Discourses. Octavo.
26. Excerpta ex Schedis Seldenianis.
27. Journal of the 18 and 21 Jacobi Regis. Quarto.
28. Great Common place Book of Reports or Cases in the Law, in Law French. Fol.

In Bundles.

On Quod tibi fieri, &c. Matth. vii. 12.
Touching Punishments, in relation to the Socinian Controversy.
Policies of the Church of Rome.
Concerning the Laws of England.
Of the Amendment of the Laws of England.
Touching Provision for the Poor.
Upon Mr. Hobbs his Manuscript.
Concerning the Time of the Abolition of the Jewish Laws.

In Quarto.

Quod sit Deus.
Of the State and Condition of the Soul and Body after Death.
Notes concerning Matters of Law.

To these I shall add the Catalogue of the Manuscripts, which he left to the Honourable Society of Lincoln's-Inn, with that part of his Will that concerns them.

ITEM, As a testimony of my honour and respect to the Society of Lincoln's-Inn, where I had the greatest part of my education, I give and bequeath to that honourable society the several manuscript books, contained in a schedule annexed to my will: they are a treasure worth having and keeping, which I have been near forty years in gathering, with very great industry and expence. My desire is, that they be kept safe, and all together, in remembrance of me: They were fit to be bound in leather and chained, and kept in archives: I desire they may not be lent out, or disposed of: only if I happen hereafter to have any of my posterity of that Society, that desires to transcribe any book, and give very good caution to restore it again in a prefixed time, such as the Benchers of that Society in council shall approve of; then, and not otherwise, only one book at one time may be lent out to them by the society; so that there be no more but one book of those books abroad out of the library at one time. They are a treasure that are not fit for every man's view; nor is every man capable of making use of them: Only I would have nothing of these books printed, but intirely preserved together, for the use of the industrious learned members of that Society.

A Catalogue of the Books given by him to Lincoln's-Inn, according to the Schedule annexed to his Will:

PLACITA de tempore Regis Johannis, 1 vol. stiched.
Placita coram Rege E. I. 2 volumes.
Placita coram Rege E. II. 3 vol.
Placita coram Rege E. III. 3 vol.
Placita coram Rege R. II. 1 vol.
Placita coram Rege H. IV. H. V. 1 vol.
Placita de Banco, E. I. ab anno 1. ad annum 21, 1 vol.
Transcripts of many Pleas, coram Rege & de Banco E. I. one vol.
The Pleas in the Exchequer, styled Communia, from 1 E. III. to 46 E. III. 5 vol.
Close Rolls of King John, verbatim, of the most material things, 1 vol.
The principal Matters in the Close and Patent Rolls, of H. III. Transcribed verbatim, from 9 H. III. to 56 H. III. 5 vol. vellum, marked K. L.
The principal Matters in the Close and Patent-Rolls, E. I. with several Copies and Abstracts of Records, 1 vol. marked F.

A long

A long Book of Abstracts of Records, by me.
Close and Patent Rolls, from 1 to 10 E. III. and other Records of the time of H. III. 1 vol. marked W.
Close Rolls of 15 E. III. with other Records, 1 vol. marked N.
Close Rolls from 17 to 38 E. III. 2 vol.
Close and Patent-Rolls, from 40 E. III. to 50 E. III. 1 vol. marked B.
Close Rolls of E. II. with other Records, 1 vol. R.
Close and Patent-Rolls, and Charter-Rolls in the time of King John, for the Clergy, 1 vol.
A great Volume of Records of several natures, G.
The Leagues of the Kings of England, tempore E. I. E. II. E. III. 1 vol.
A Book of ancient Leagues and Military Provisions, 1 vol.
The Reports of Iters, of Derby, Nottingham and Bedford, transcribed, 1 vol.
Itinera Forest de Pickering & Lancaster, transcript ex Originali, 1 vol.
An ancient Reading, very large upon Charta de Foresta, and of the Forest-Laws.
The Transcript of the Iter Foresta de Dean, 1 vol.
Quo Worranto and Liberties of the County of Gloucester, with the Pleas of the Chace of Kingswood, 1 vol.
Transcript of the Black Book of the Admiralty, Laws of the Army, Impositions and several Honours, 1 vol.
Records of Patents, Inquisitions, &c. of the County of Leicester, 1 vol.
Muster and Military Provisions of all Sorts, extracted from the Records, 1 vol.
Gervasius Tilburiensis, or the Black Book of the Exchequer, 1 vol.
The King's Title to the Pre-emption of Tin, a thin vol.
Calendar of the Records in the Tower, a small vol.
A Miscellany of divers Records, Orders, and other things of various natures, marked E. 1 vol.
Another of the like nature in leather cover, 1 vol.
A Book of divers Records and Things relating to the Chancery, 1 vol.
Titles of Honour and Pedigrees, especially touching Clifford, 1 vol.
History of the Marches of Wales, collected by me, 1 vol.
Certain Collections touching Titles of Honour, 1 vol.
Copies of several Records touching Premunire, 1 vol.
Extract of Commissions tempore H. VII. H. VIII. R. and the Proceedings in the Court Military, between Ray and Ramsey, 1 vol.
Petitions in Parliament tempore, E. I. E. II. E. III. H. IV. 3 vol.
Summons of Parliament, from 49 H. III. to 22 E. IV. 3 vol.
The Parliament-Rolls, from the beginning of E. I. to the end of R. III. in 19 volumes, viz. one of E. I. one of E. II. with the

the Ordinations; two of E. III. three of R. II. two of H. IV. two of H. V. four of H. VI. three of E. IV. one of R. III. all transcribed at large.

Mr. Elsing's Book, touching Proceedings in Parliament, 1 vol.

Noy's Collection, touching the King's Supplies, 1 vol. stitched.

A Book of various Collections out of Records and Register of Canterbury, and Claims at the Coronation of R. II. 1 vol.

Transcript of Bishop Usher's Notes, principally concerning Chronology, 3 large vol.

A Transcript out of Doomsday Book of Gloucestershire and Herefordshire, and of some Pipe-Rolls, and old Accompts of the Customs, 1 vol.

Extracts and Collections out of Records, touching Titles of Honour, 1 vol.

Extracts of Pleas, Patents and Close Rolls, tempore H. III. E. I. E. II. E. III. and some old antiquities of England, 1 vol.

Collections and Memorials of many Records and Antiquities, 1 vol. Seldeni.

Calendar of Charters and Records in the Tower, touching Gloucestershire.

Collection of Notes and Records of various natures, marked M. 1 vol. Seldeni.

Transcript of the Iters of London, Kent, Cornwall, 1 vol.

Extracts out of the Leger-Books of Battell, Evesham, Winton, &c. 1 vol. Seldeni.

Copies of the principal Records in the Red-Book, in the Exchequer, 1 vol.

Extracts of Records and Treaties, relating to Sea-Affairs, 1 vol.

Records touching Customs, Ports, Partition of the Lands of Gil. De Clare, &c.

Extract of Pleas in the Time R. I. king John, E. I. &c. 1 vol.

Chartæ Antiquæ in the Tower, transcribed, in 2 vol.

Chronological Remembrances, extracted out of the Notes of Bishop Usher, 1 vol. stitched.

Inquisitionibus de Legibus Walliæ, 1 vol.

Collections, or Records, touching Knighthood.

Titles of Honour. Seldeni. 1 vol.

Mathematicks and Fortifications, 1 vol.

Processus Curiæ Militaris, 1 vol.

A Book of Honour, stitched, 1 vol.

Extracts out of the Registry of Canterbury.

Copies of several Records touching Proceedings in the Military-Court, 1 vol.

Abstracts of Summons and Rolls of Parliament, out of the book of Dunnelm, and some Records alphabetically digested, 1 vol.

Abstracts of divers Records in the office of First Fruits, 1 vol. stitched.

Mathematical and Astrological Calculation, 1 vol.

A Book

A Book of Divinity.
Two large Repositories of Records, marked A. and B.

[All those above are in folio.]

The Proceedings of the Forests of Windsor, Dean and Essex, in quarto, 1 vol.

[Those that follow, are most of them in vellum, or parchment.]

Two Books of old Statutes, one ending H. VII. the other 2 H. V. with the sums, 2 vol.
Five last years of E. II. 1 vol.
Reports tempore E. II. 1 vol.
The Year-Book of R. II. and some others, 1 vol.
An old Chronicle, from the Creation, to E. III. 1 vol.
A Mathematical Book, especially of Optiques, 1 vol.
A Dutch Book of Geometry and Fortification.
Murti Benevenlani Geometrica, 1 vol.
Reports tempore E. I. under titles, 1 vol.
An old Register, and some Pleas, 1 vol.
Bernardi Bratrack Peregrinatio, 1 vol.
Iter Cantii and London, and some Reports, tempore E. II. 1 vol.
Reports tempore E. I. & E. II. 1 vol.
Leger-Book, Abbatiæ De Bello.
Isidori Opera.
Liber Altercationis, & Christianæ Philosophiæ, contra Paganos.
Historia Petri Manducatorii.
Hornii Astronomica.
Historia Ecclesiæ Dunnelmensis.
Holandi Chymica.
De Alchymiæ Scriptoribus.
The Black-Book of the New-Law, collected by me, and digested into alphabetical titles, written with my own hand, which is the original copy.

MATTHEW HALE.

THE CONCLUSION.

THUS lived and died Sir Matthew Hale, the renowned Lord Chief Juſtice of England: he had one of the bleſſings of virtue in the higheſt meaſure of any of the age, that does not always follow it, which was, that he was univerſally much valued and admired by men of all ſides and perſuaſions: for as none could hate him but for his juſtice and virtues, ſo the great eſtimation he was generally in, made that few durſt undertake to defend ſo ungrateful a paradox, as any thing ſaid to leſſen him would have appeared to be. His name is ſcarce ever mentioned ſince his death without particular accents of ſingular reſpect. His opinion in points of Law generally paſſes as an uncontroulable authority, and is often pleaded in all the courts of juſtice: and all that knew him well, do ſtill ſpeak of him as one of the perfecteſt patterns of religion and virtue they ever ſaw.

The commendations given him by all ſorts of people are ſuch, that I can hardly come under the cenſures of this age for any thing I have ſaid concerning him; yet if this book lives to after-times, it will be looked on perhaps as a picture, drawn more according to fancy and invention, than after the life; if it were not that thoſe who knew him well, eſtabliſhing its credit in the preſent age, will make it paſs down to the next with a clearer authority.

I ſhall purſue his praiſe no further in my own words, but ſhall add what the preſent lord chancellor of England ſaid concerning him, when he delivered the commiſſion to the lord chief juſtice Rainsford, who ſucceeded him in that office, which he began in this manner:

'The vacancy of the ſeat of the chief juſtice of 'this court, and that by a way and means ſo unuſual,

'as

'as the reſignation of him that lately held it; and 'this too proceeding from ſo deplorable a cauſe, as 'the infirmity of that body which began to forſake 'the ableſt mind that ever preſided here, hath filled 'the kingdom with lamentations, and given the King 'many and penſive thoughts how to ſupply that 'vacancy again.' And a little after, ſpeaking to his ſucceſſor, he ſaid, 'the very labours of the place, 'and that weight and fatigue of buſineſs which at-'tends it, are no ſmall diſcouragements; for what 'ſhoulders may not juſtly fear that burthen, which 'made him ſtoop that went before you? Yet, I con-'feſs you have a greater diſcouragement than the 'mere burthen of your place, and that is the inimit-'able example of your laſt predeceſſor: *Oneroſum eſt 'ſuccedere bono principi*[1], was the ſaying of him in the 'panegyric: and you will find it ſo too, that are to 'ſucceed ſuch a chief juſtice, of ſo indefatigable an 'induſtry, ſo invincible a patience, ſo exemplary 'an integrity, and ſo magnanimous a contempt of 'worldly things, without which no man can be truly 'great; and to all this, a man that was ſo abſolute a 'maſter of the ſcience of the law, and even of the moſt 'abſtruſe and hidden parts of it, that one may truly 'ſay of his knowledge in the law, what St. Auſtin ſaid 'of St. Hierome's knowledge in divinity, *Quod Hiero-'nimus neſcivit, nullus mortalium unquam ſcivit*[2]. And 'therefore the king would not ſuffer himſelf to part 'with ſo great a man, till he had placed upon him all 'the marks of bounty and eſteem which his retired 'and weak condition was capable of.'

To this high character, in which the expreſſions, as they well become the eloquence of him who pronounced them, ſo they do agree exactly to the ſubject, without the abatements that are often to be made for rhetoric. I ſhall add that part of the lord chief juſtice's anſwer, in which he ſpeaks of his predeceſſor.

——'A perſon in whom his eminent virtues and 'deep learning have long managed a conteſt for the

[1] It is a troublesome task to succeed a virtuous prince.
[2] What Jerome was ignorant of, no man ever knew.

'ſuperiority, which is not decided to this day; nor 'will it ever be determined, I ſuppoſe, which ſhall 'get the upper hand: A perſon that has ſate in this 'court theſe many years, of whoſe actions there I 'have been an eye and ear-witneſs, that by the great-'neſs of his learning always charmed his auditors to 'reverence and attention: A perſon of whom I think 'I may boldly ſay, that as former times cannot ſhew 'any ſuperior to him, ſo I am confident ſucceed-'ing and future times will never ſhew any equal. 'Theſe conſiderations, heightened by what I have 'heard from your lordſhip concerning him, made me 'anxious and doubtful, and put me to a ſtand, how 'I ſhould ſucceed ſo able, ſo good, and ſo great a 'man: It doth very much trouble me, that I, who in 'compariſon of him am but like a candle lighted 'in the ſun-ſhine, or like a glow-worm at mid-day, 'ſhould ſucceed ſo great a perſon, that is and will 'be ſo eminently famous to all poſterity: and I 'muſt ever wear this motto in my breaſt to comfort 'me, and in my actions to excuſe me:

'Sequitur, quamvis non passibus æquis[1].'

Thus were panegyrics made upon him while yet alive, in that ſame court of juſtice which he had ſo worthily governed. As he was honoured while he lived, ſo he was much lamented when he died: and this will ſtill be acknowledged as a juſt inſcription for his memory, though his modeſty forbid any ſuch to be put on his tombſtone:

THAT HE WAS ONE OF THE GREATEST PATTERNS THIS AGE HAS AFFORDED, WHETHER IN HIS PRIVATE DEPORTMENT AS A CHRISTIAN, OR IN HIS PUBLIC EMPLOYMENTS, EITHER AT THE BAR OR ON THE BENCH.

[1] He follows his steps, though at a distance.

End of Burnet's Life of Sir Matthew Hale.

AN

AN APPENDIX

TO THE

LIFE AND DEATH

OF

SIR MATTHEW HALE, KNIGHT.

EVERY circumſtance which the records of antiquity can furniſh to develope the life and character of Sir MATTHEW HALE, muſt be a welcome contribution to him, whoſe mind loves to dwell on images of tranſcendant piety and unſullied virtue. This ſhining ornament of his age had cultivated, in the latter period of his life, a cloſe intimacy with Richard Baxter, a perſon who ranked high amongſt thoſe who refuſed to comply with the Act of Conformity. Though our learned judge was by principle firmly attached to the doctrines and diſcipline of the Church of England, he conſidered it no inconſiſtency to allow a place in his eſteem to this divine, who, to an ardent and affectionate regard for the intereſts of practical religion, united profound and extenſive learning, and an extraordinary penetration and acuteneſs of underſtanding. The ſame ſpirit of Chriſtian courteſy which ſhone in his deportment through life, taught him, in his ſocial intercourſe with this gentleman, carefully to avoid thoſe topics which were likely to excite a colliſion of arguments without producing a change of ſentiment; and ſelect ſuch only as might be ſafely diſcuſſed, and, inſtead of weakening, were calculated to ſtrengthen the bonds of friendſhip, and yield reciprocal pleaſure and inſtruction.

The Editor flatters himſelf, the peruſal of the following Notes will not only prove intereſting to the reader, as they elucidate the character of Sir Matthew Hale, but will ſuggeſt to him one of the moſt uſeful and important maxims in the life of a Chriſtian. The example of this great man will be found, in an eminent degree, to inculcate the ſpirit of moderation, charity, and forbearance; and furniſh a practical comment on the text of the Apoſtle, who exhorts us 'To 'honour all men, and love the brotherhood.' The reader will learn to abjure and abhor the maxims of bigotry and intolerance which then ſo powerfully prevailed. Firm, indeed, to his own principles, he will be ever ready to ſhew a tenderneſs for the prejudices of others. Inſtead of widening, he will endeavour rather to heal the wounds of religious diſcord.

Whoever peruſes the hiſtory of the Church in the time of the Uſurpation, and contemplates the unhappy conſequences which flowed from her diviſions, will find abundant reaſon to deplore the intemperate zeal of the *oppoſite parties*, by which it unfortunately happened, in their indiſcriminate hoſtility to each other, that thoſe, who were the moſt diſtinguiſhed for talents, learning, and piety, were often the greateſt ſufferers. The retaliations for the injuries which the friends of the Eſtabliſhed Church had received, were deeply felt and juſtly lamented in the perſon of Baxter, whoſe eſtimable qualities and rare endowments muſt make every good man wiſh he had eſcaped the rod of perſecution.

The Church of England, indeed, revolts at the principle. Her weapons are ſpiritual. Thoſe whom ſhe cannot convince by argument, ſhe diſdains to ſubdue by violence. Let us hope the age of perſecution is fled for ever; that our eyes are open not more to its impiety than its impolicy. We live in times when the real friends of religion and virtue have more reaſon than ever to overlook their differences in ſpeculative opinions, and unite together in ſtemming

ſtemming the torrent of vice and infidelity which is ready to overwhelm us. Our political ſituation moreover demands of every true patriot theſe ſacrifices, and the promotion of Chriſtian unity, love, and concord.

May the bright example and inſtructive writings of this pattern of Chriſtian moderation produce, amongſt the profeſſors of Chriſtianity, the happy effect of extirpating from their hearts the paſſions of religious rancour and animoſity, and diffuſing the ſpirit of univerſal peace and comprehenſive good-will to men.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

OF THE

LIFE AND DEATH

OF

SIR MATTHEW HALE, KNIGHT.

WRITTEN BY

RICHARD BAXTER,

At the request of EDWARD STEPHENS, *Esq. Publisher of his Contemplations, and his familiar Friend.*

TO THE READER.

SINCE the hiſtory of Judge Hale's life is publiſhed (written by Dr. Burnet very well) ſome men have thought, that becauſe my familiarity with him was known, and the laſt time of a man's life is ſuppoſed to contain his matureſt judgment, time, ſtudy, and experience correcting former over-ſights; and this great man, who was moſt diligently and thirſtily learning to the laſt, was like to be ſtill wiſer, the notice that I had of him in the latter years of his life ſhould not be omitted.

I was never acquainted with him till 1667, and therefore have nothing to ſay of the former part of his life; nor of the latter, as to any public affairs, but only of what our familiar converſe acquainted me: but the viſible effects made me wonder at the induſtry and unwearied labours of his former life. Beſides the four volumes againſt Atheiſm and Infidelity, in folio, which

which I after mention, when I was desired to borrow a manuscript of his law collections, he shewed me, as I remember, about two and thirty folios, and told me he had no other on that subject, (collections out of the Tower records, &c.) and that the amanuensis' work that wrote them, cost him a thousand pounds. He was so set on study, that he resolvedly avoided all necessary diversions, and so little valued either grandeur, wealth, or any worldly vanity, that he avoided them to that notable degree, which incompetent judges took to be an excess. His habit was so coarse and plain, that I, who am thought guilty of a culpable neglect therein, have been bold to desire him to lay by some things which seemed too homely. The house which I surrendered to him, and wherein he lived at Acton, was indeed well situated, but very small, and so far below the ordinary dwellings of men of his rank, as that divers farmers thereabouts had better; but it pleased him. Many censured him for choosing his last wife below his quality: but the good man more regarded his own daily comfort than men's thoughts and talk. As far as I could discern, he chose one very suitable to his ends; one of his own judgment and temper, prudent and loving, and fit to please him, and that would not draw on him the trouble of much acquaintance and relations. His housekeeping was according to the rest, like his estate and mind, but not like his place and honour: for he resolved never to grasp at riches, nor take great fees, but would refuse what many others thought too little. I wondered when he told me how small his estate was, after such ways of getting as were before him: but as he had little, and desired little, so he was content with little, and suited his dwelling, table, and retinue thereto. He greatly shunned the visits of many, or great persons, that came not to him on necessary business, because all his hours were precious to him, and therefore he contrived the avoiding of them, and the free enjoyment of his beloved privacy.

I must

I muſt with a glad remembrance acknowledge, that while we were ſo unſuitable in places and worth, yet ſome ſuitableneſs of judgment and diſpoſition made our frequent converſe pleaſing to us both. The laſt time but one that I was at his houſe, he made me lodge there, and in the morning inviting me to more frequent viſits, ſaid, No man ſhall be more welcome; and he was no diſſembler. To ſignify his love, he put my name as a legatee in his will, bequeathing me forty ſhillings. Mr. Stephens gave me two manuſcripts, as appointed by him for me, declaring his judgment of our Church contentions and their cure (aftermentioned). Though they are imperfect, as written on the ſame queſtion at ſeveral times, I had a great mind to print them, to try whether the common reverence of the author would cool any of our contentious clergy: but hearing that there was a reſtraint in his will, I took out part of a copy, in which I find theſe words, 'I do expreſsly declare, that I will have 'nothing of my writings printed after my death, 'but only ſuch as I ſhall in my life-time deliver out 'to be printed.' And not having received this in his life-time, nor to be printed in expreſs terms, I am afraid of croſſing the will of the dead, though he ordered them for me.

It ſhewed his mean eſtate as to riches, that in his will he is put to diſtribute the profits of a book or two, when printed, among his friends and ſervants. Alas! we that are great loſers by printing, know that it muſt be a ſmall gain that muſt thus accrue to them. Doubtleſs, if the lord chief juſtice Hale had gathered money as other lawyers do that had leſs advantage, as he wanted not will, ſo he would not have wanted power to have left them far greater legacies. But the ſervants of a ſelf-denying mortified maſter, muſt be content to ſuffer by his virtues, which yet, if they imitate him, will turn to their final gain.

God made him a public good, which is more than to get riches. His great judgment and known integrity,

grity, commanded reſpect from thoſe that knew him; ſo that I verily think, that no one ſubject ſince the days that hiſtory hath notified the affairs of England to us, went off the ſtage with greater and more univerſal love and honour (and what honour without love is, I underſtand not). I remember when his ſucceſſor, the lord chief juſtice Rainsford, falling into ſome melancholy, came and ſent to me for ſome advice; he did it as he ſaid becauſe Judge Hale deſired him ſo to do; and expreſſed ſo great reſpect to his judgment and writings, as I perceived much prevailed with him. And many have profited by his Contemplations, who would never have read them had they been written by ſuch a one as I. Yet among all his books and diſcourſes, I never knew of theſe until he was dead.

His reſolution for juſtice was ſo great, that I am perſuaded, that no wealth nor honour would have hired him knowingly to do one unjuſt act.

And though he left us in ſorrow, I cannot but acknowledge it a great mercy to him to be taken away when he was. Alas! what would the good man have done, if he had been put by plotters, and traitors, and ſwearers, and forſwearers, upon all that his ſucceſſors have been put to? In likelihood, even all his great wiſdom and ſincerity could never have got him through ſuch a wilderneſs of thorns, and briars, and wild beaſts, without tearing in pieces his entire reputation, if he had never ſo well ſecured his conſcience. O! how ſeaſonably did he avoid the tempeſt, and go to Chriſt.

And ſo have ſo many excellent perſons ſince then, and eſpecially within the ſpace of one year, as may well make England tremble at the prognoſtic, that the righteous are taken as from the evil to come. And alas! what an evil is it like to be? We feel our loſs. We fear the common danger. But what believer can chooſe but acknowledge God's mercy to them,

them, in taking them up to the world of light, love, peace, and order, when confuſion is coming upon this world, by darkneſs, malignity, perfidiouſneſs and cruelty. Some think that the laſt conflagration ſhall turn this earth into hell. If ſo, who would not firſt be taken from it? And when it is ſo like to hell already, who would not rather be in heaven?

Though ſome miſtook this man for a mere philoſopher or humaniſt, that knew him not within; yet his moſt ſerious deſcription of the ſufferings of Chriſt, and his copious volumes to prove the truth of the Scripture, Chriſtianity, our Immortality, and the Deity, do prove ſo much reality in his faith and devotion, as makes us paſt doubt of the reality of his reward and glory.

When he found his belly ſwell, his breath and ſtrength much abate, and his face and fleſh decay, he cheerfully received the ſentence of death: and though Dr. Gliſſon, by mere *oximel ſquilliticum*, ſeemed awhile to eaſe him, yet that alſo ſoon failed him; and he told me he was prepared and contented comfortably to receive his change. And accordingly he left us, and went into his native country of Glouceſterſhire to die, as the hiſtory tells you.

Mr. Edward Stephens, being moſt familiar with him, told me his purpoſe to write his life, and deſired me to draw up the mere narrative of my ſhort familiarity with him; which I did, as followeth: by hearing no more of him, caſt it by; but others deſiring it, upon the ſight of the publiſhed hiſtory of his life by Dr. Burnet, I have left it to the diſcretion of ſome of them, to do with it what they will.

And being half dead already in thoſe deareſt friends who were half myſelf, am much the more willing to leave this mole-hill and priſon of earth, to be with that wiſe and bleſſed ſociety, who being united to their Head in glory, do not envy, hate, or perſecute each other,

other, nor forſake God, nor ſhall ever be forſaken by him.

R. B.

Note, That this narrative was written two years before Dr. Burnet's; and it is not to be doubted but that he had better information of his manuſcripts, and ſome other circumſtances, than I. But of thoſe manuſcripts, directed to me, about the Soul's Immortality, of which I have the originals under his hand, and alſo of his thoughts of the ſubjects mentioned by me, from 1671, till he went to die at Glouceſterſhire, I had the fulleſt notice.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

ON THE

LIFE AND DEATH

OF

SIR MATTHEW HALE, KNIGHT.

TO MY WORTHY FRIEND MR. STEPHENS, THE PUBLISHER OF JUDGE HALE'S CONTEMPLATIONS.

SIR,

You desired me to give you notice of what I knew in my personal converse of the great lord chief justice of England, Sir Matthew Hale. You have partly made any thing of mine unmeet for the sight of any but yourself and his private friends (to whom it is useless), by your divulging those words of his extraordinary favour to me, which will make it thought that I am partial in his praises. And, indeed, that excessive esteem of his, which you have told men of, is a divulging of his imperfection, who did over-value so unworthy a person as I know myself to be.

I will promise you to say nothing but the truth; and judge of it and use it as you please.

My acquaintance with him was not long: and I looked on him as an excellent person studied in his own way, which I hoped I should never have occasion to make much use of; but I thought not so versed in our matters as ourselves. I was confirmed in this conceit by the first report I had from him, which was his wish that Dr. Reignolds, Mr. Calamy, and I, would have taken bishoprics, when they were offered us by the lord

lord chancellor, as from the king, in 1660 (as one did); I thought he underſtood not our caſe, or the true ſtate of Engliſh prelacy. Many years after, when I lived at Acton, he, being lord chief baron of the Exchequer, ſuddenly took a houſe in the village. We ſat next ſeats together at church many weeks; but neither did he ever ſpeak to me, or I to him. At laſt, my extraordinary friend (to whom I was more beholding than I muſt here expreſs) ſerjeant Fountain, aſked me why I did not viſit the lord chief baron? I told him, becauſe I had no reaſon for it, being a ſtranger to him, and had ſome againſt it, viz. that a judge, whoſe reputation was neceſſary to the ends of his office, ſhould not be brought under court ſuſpicion or diſgrace, by his familiarity with a perſon whom the intereſt and diligence of ſome prelates had rendered ſo odious (as I knew myſelf to be with ſuch), I durſt not be ſo injurious to him. The ſerjeant anſwered, it is not meet for him to come firſt to you; I know why I ſpeak it; let me entreat you to go firſt to him. In obedience to which requeſt I did it; and ſo we entered into neighbourly familiarity. I lived then in a ſmall houſe, but it had a pleaſant garden and backſide, which the honeſt landlord had a deſire to ſell. The judge had a mind to the houſe; but he would not meddle with it till he got a ſtranger to me to come and enquire of me whether I was willing to leave it? I told him I was not only willing but deſirous, not for my own ends, but for my landlord's ſake, who muſt needs ſell it: and ſo he bought it, and lived in that poor houſe till his mortal ſickneſs ſent him to the place of his interment.

I will truly tell you the matter and the manner of our converſe. We were oft together, and almoſt all our diſcourſe was philoſophical, and eſpecially about the nature of ſpirits and ſuperior regions; and the nature, operations, and immortality of man's ſoul. And our diſpoſition and courſe of thoughts were in ſuch things

things ſo like, that I did not much croſs the bent of his conference. He ſtudied phyſics, and got all new or old books of philoſophy that he could meet with, as eagerly as if he had been a boy at the univerſity. Mouſnerius and Honoratus Faber he deſervedly much eſteemed; but yet took not the latter to be without ſome miſtakes. Mathematics he ſtudied more than I did, it being a knowledge which he much more eſteemed than I did, who valued all knowledge by the greatneſs of the benefit and neceſſity of the uſe; and my unſkilfulneſs in them I acknowledge my great defect, in which he much excelled. But we were both much addicted to know and read all the pretenders to more than ordinary in phyſics; the Platoniſts, the Peripatetics, the Epicureans (and eſpecially their Gaſſendus), Teleius, Campanella, Patricius, Lullius, White, and every ſect that made us any encouraging promiſe. We neither of us approved of all in Ariſtotle; but he valued him more than I did. We both greatly diſliked the principles of Carteſius and Gaſſendus (much more of the Bruitiſts, Hobbs, and Spinoſa); eſpecially their doctrine *de motu*, and their obſcuring or denying nature itſelf, even the *principia motus*, the *virtutes formales*, which are the cauſes of operations.

Whenever we were together he was the ſpring of our diſcourſe (as chooſing the ſubject); and moſt of it ſtill was of the nature of ſpirits, and the immortality, ſtate, and operations of ſeparated ſouls. We both were conſcious of human darkneſs, and how much of our underſtandings, quiet in ſuch matters, muſt be fetched from our implicit truſt in the goodneſs and promiſes of God, rather than from a clear and ſatisfying conception of the mode of ſeparated ſouls' operations; and how great uſe we have herein of our faith in Jeſus Chriſt, as he is the undertaker, mediator, the Lord and lover of ſouls, and the actual poſſeſſor of that glory. But yet we thought that it greatly concerned us to ſearch, as far as God allowed us, into a matter

matter of ſo great moment; and that even little and obſcure proſpects into the heavenly ſtate, are more excellent than much and applauded knowledge of tranſitory things.

He was much in urging difficulties and objections; but you could not tell by them what was his own judgment; for, when he was able to anſwer them himſelf, he would draw out another's anſwer.

He was but of a ſlow ſpeech, and ſometimes ſo heſitating, that a ſtranger would have thought him a man of low parts, that knew not readily what to ſay, though ready at other times. But I never ſaw Cicero's doctrine *de Oratore* more verified in any man, that furniſhing the mind with all ſorts of knowledge, is the chief thing to make an excellent orator; for, when there is abundance and clearneſs of knowledge in the mind, it will furniſh even a ſlow tongue to ſpeak that which, by its congruence and verity, ſhall prevail. Such a one never wants moving matter, nor an anſwer to vain objectors.

The manner of our converſe was as ſuitable to my inclination as the matter; for, whereas many bred in univerſities, and called ſcholars, have not the wit, manners, or patience to hear thoſe that they diſcourſe with ſpeak to the end, but through liſt and impotency cannot hold, but cut off a man's ſpeech when they hear any thing that urgeth them, before the latter part make the former intelligible or ſtrong (when oft the proof and uſe is reſerved to the end), liker ſcolds than ſcholars; as if they commanded ſilence at the end of each ſentence to him that ſpeaketh, or elſe would have two talk at once. I do not remember that ever he and I did interrupt each other in any diſcourſe. His wiſdom and accuſtomed patience cauſed him ſtill to ſtay for the end. And though my diſpoſition have too much forwardneſs to ſpeak, I had not ſo little wit or manners as to interrupt him; whereby we far better underſtood each other than we could have done in chopping and maimed diſcourſe.

Yet he yielded to me, that *virtus ſeu vis vitalis*, is not *animæ accidens*, but the *conceptus formalis ſpiritus*, ſuppoſing *ſubſtantia* to be the *conceptus fundamentalis*; and both together expreſs the eſſence of a ſpirit.

Every created being is paſſive; for *recipit in ſe fluxum cauſæ primæ* [1]. God tranſcendeth our defining ſkill: but where there is receptivity, many ancients thought there were ſome pure ſort of materiality; and we ſay, there is receptive ſubſtantiality; and who can deſcribe the difference (laying aſide the formal virtues that difference things) between the higheſt material ſubſtance, and the loweſt ſubſtance, called immaterial?

We were neither of us ſatisfied with the notions of penetrability and indiviſibility, as ſufficient differences. But the *virtutes ſpecificæ* plainly difference.

What latter thoughts, a year before he died, he had of theſe things, I know not; but ſome ſay, that a treatiſe of this ſubject, the Soul's Immortality, was his laſt finiſhed work (promiſed in the end of his treatiſe of Man's Origination); and if we have the ſight of that, it will fuller tell us his judgment.

One thing I muſt notify to you, and to thoſe that have his manuſcripts, that when I ſent him a ſcheme, with ſome elucidations, he wrote me on that, and my treatiſe of the ſoul, almoſt a quire of paper of animadverſions, by which you muſt not conclude at all of his own judgment; for he profeſſed to me, that he wrote them to me not as his judgment, but (as his way was) as the hardeſt objections which he would have ſatisfaction in. And when I had written him a full anſwer to all, and have been oft ſince with him, he ſeemed ſatisfied. You will wrong him, therefore, if you ſhould print that written to me as his judgment.

As to his judgment about religion, our diſcourſe was very ſparing about controverſies; he thought not fit to begin with me about them, nor I with him; and as it was in me, ſo it ſeemed to be in him, from a con-

[1] It receives a ſupply from the First Cauſe.

ceit

ceit that we were not fit to pretend to add much to one another.

About matters of conformity, I could gladly have known his mind more fully; but I thought it unmeet to put ſuch queſtions to a judge who muſt not ſpeak againſt the laws; and he never offered his judgment to me. And I knew, that as I was to reverence him in his own profeſſion, ſo in matters of my profeſſion and concernment, he expected not that I ſhould think as he, beyond the reaſons which he gave.

I muſt ſay that he was of opinion, that the wealth and honour of the biſhops was convenient, to enable them the better to relieve the poor, and reſcue the inferior clergy from oppreſſion, and to keep up the honour of religion in the world. But all this on ſuppoſition, that it would be in the hands of wiſe and good men, or elſe it would do as much harm. But when I aſked him, whether great wealth and honour would not be moſt earneſtly deſired and ſought by the worſt of men, while good men would not ſeek them? And whether he that was the only fervent ſeeker, was not likelieſt to obtain (except under ſome rare extraordinary prince)? And ſo whether it was not like to entail the office on the worſt, and to arm Chriſt's enemies againſt him to the end of the world (which a proviſion that had neither alluring nor much diſcouraging temptation, might prevent), he gave me no anſwer. I have heard ſome ſay, if the Pope were a good man, what a deal of good might he do? But have Popes, therefore, bleſt the world?

I can truly ſay, that he greatly lamented the negligence, and ill lives, and violence of ſome of the clergy; and would oft ſay, What have they their calling, honour and maintenance for, but to ſeek the inſtructing and ſaving of men's ſouls.

He much lamented, that ſo many worthy miniſters were ſilenced, the church weakened, Papiſts ſtrengthened, the cauſe of love and piety greatly wronged and hindered by the preſent differences about conformity.

And he hath told me his judgment, that the only means to heal us was, a new act of uniformity, which ſhould neither leave all at liberty, nor impoſe any thing unneceſſary.

I had once a full opportunity to try his judgment far in this. It pleaſed the lord keeper Bridgman to invite Dr. Manton[1] and myſelf (to whom Dr. Bates, at our deſire, was added), to treat with Dr. Wilkins[2] and Dr.

[1] Dr. Manton was the son of Thomas Manton, of Wimpole, in Devonshire, and born at Lawrence Lyddiard, in Somersetshire. At the age of fifteen, 1635, was entered a servitor in Wadham College, from whence he removed, in 1639, to Hart Hall, and took the degree of Bachelor of Arts. During his residence in this hall he had the reputation of being a *hot-headed person*. Afterwards, upon the turn of the times, he assumed the office of lay preacher at Culliton, in Devonshire; from which place, having made himself obnoxious to his diocesan and the royal party, he repaired to London, where he embraced the Presbyterian principles, and joined himself to that party. The boldness of his manner, and the floridness of his style, recommended him, after he had taken the *covenant*, to the situation of minister of Stoke Newington, in Middlesex, and in 1647 to that of preacher before the members of the Long Parliament. When the Independents became the popular party he joined them, took the oath called the *engagement*, and made a flattering speech to Oliver, who appointed him his chaplain and one of the triers (or, as they have been with great propriety termed, the *Spanish Inquisitors*) for the approbation of godly preachers.

In the beginning of 1654, he took his degree of Bachelor of Divinity, and ſucceeded his father-in-law, Obadiah Sedgwick, as Rector of St. Paul, Covent-Garden, where he distinguished himself as a preacher among the sectarians. In the year 1658, upon the *inauguration* of Richard, Manton officiated as chaplain, and pronounced a blessing on his council, armies and people. In 1659, he was constituted by parliament one of the triers of Presbyterian ministers, and in the year following took holy orders from Thomas bishop of Galloway. Upon the restoration of Charles he wished the credit of having contributed to it; and it is probable from the pliancy of his temper might have ſhewn a leaning towards monarchy when the tide began to turn in its favour. He was appointed chaplain in ordinary to the king, and in that quality, by virtue of his majesty's letters, was created a Doctor of Divinity, amongst several royalists who had suffered in the cause of their master. It was curious to observe, as they sat in the Convocation-house, the jolly round appearance of *Manton*, contrasted with the lean and emaciated looks of the royalists. He refused the Liturgy in his church, for which his parishioners complained to the bishop of London. In the mean time, as it was thought he would readily conform, the king designed to confer on him a valuable deanery, (as he had conferred the see of Norwich upon Dr. Reynolds, alluded to by Baxter.) After mature deliberation, however, whatever were his real motives, he both refused the deanery, and resigned his living after the Act of Uniformity was published, though his majesty had appointed him a commissioner in the Savoy conference respecting the Liturgy, in the discharge of which duty he had taken considerable pains. He afterwards set up a meeting in Covent-Garden, and suffered imprisonment in the Gate-house. After having passed through a variety of scenes, and experienced many vicissitudes, he died in 1677, and was buried in the church of Stoke Newington. Dr. Bates, the same person who is mentioned by Baxter, and was offered also a deanery, preached his funeral sermon. *Wood's Athen. Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 446.

[2] He was the son of Walter Wilkins, goldsmith, of Oxford, born at Fawlesly, in Northamptonshire, and educated in a private school in All-Saints parish, Oxford,

Dr. Burton [1] about the terms of our reconciliation and reſtoration to our miniſterial liberty. After ſome days conference, we came to agreement in all things, as to the neceſſary terms. And becauſe Dr. Wilkins and I had ſpecial intimacy with Judge Hale, we deſired him to draw it up in the form of an act, which he willingly did, and we agreed to every word. But it pleaſed the Houſe of Commons, hearing of it, to begin their next ſeſſion with a vote, that no ſuch bill ſhould be brought in; and ſo it died.

Query. 1. Whether after this and other ſuch agreement, it be ingenuity, or ſomewhat elſe, that hath ever ſince ſaid, We know not what they would have? And that at once call out to us, and yet ſtrictly forbid us to tell them what it is we take for ſin, and what we deſire.

Oxford. He entered in New Inn in 1627, at thirteen, but ſoon removed to Magdalen Hall, where he took his degrees in Arts. Afterwards he entered holy orders, became chaplain to Lord Say, and afterwards to Charles Count Palatine of the Rhine, and Prince elector of the Empire, with whom he continued for ſome time. At length upon breaking out of the rebellion, he eſpouſed the Presbyterian party, and took the covenant. In 1648 was created Bachelor of Divinity, and put into poſſeſſion of the wardenſhip of Wadham College, by the committee for the reformation of the univerſity, in the room of a loyal perſon whom they had ejected. In the next year he was created Doctor of Divinity, and took the engagement, that is *to be faithful to the Commonwealth of England, as it was then eſtabliſhed without a King, or Houſe of Lords.* In 1656 he married the widow of Peter French, ſometimes Canon of Chriſt Church, and ſiſter to Cromwell; this marriage, however, being contrary to the ſtatutes of that college, he obtained a diſpenſation from the Protector In the year 1659 Richard, who ſucceeded Oliver, gave him the headſhip of Trinity College, Cambridge. Upon the Reſtoration he was ejected from this valuable preferment, became preacher to the ſociety of Gray's Inn, and miniſter of St. Lawrence in the Jewry, in London; took again the oaths, entered into the miniſtry, and became a member of the Royal Society.

Soon after he was made Dean of Rippon, and through the intereſt of the Duke of Buckingham was collated to the ſee of Cheſter. He died of the ſtone in 1672, in Chancery-lane, in Dr. Tillotſon's houſe, and was buried in St. Lawrence's church, in the Jewry. The character which Burnet gives of him is perhaps correct; were it in our power to exculpate his memory from the charge of inconſtancy of mind and unſteadineſs of principles: nor have we to object to the following portrait of him:—"His univerſal inſight into all parts of learning, his ſolid judgment, rare prudence, and dexterity in the management of worldly affairs and tranſactions, univerſal charity, ingenuity, temper and moderation of ſpirit, have left behind him few equals." *Wood's Athen. Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 869.

[1] He was Maſter of Arts, and Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford; afterwards Doctor of Divinity, chaplain to Sir Orlando Bridgman, lord keeper of the great ſeal, rector of St. George, Southwark, prebend of Norwich in 1667, and at length rector of Barnes, Surry. He died in 1687, and left ſome diſcourſes, which were publiſhed by Dr. Tillotſon, archbiſhop of Canterbury.

2. Whether it be likely, that ſuch men as Biſhop Wilkins, and Dr. Burton, and Judge Hale, would conſent to ſuch terms of our concord, as ſhould be worſe than our preſent condition of diviſion and compulſion is? And whether the maintainers of our dividing impoſitions, be all wiſer and better men than this judge and that biſhop were?

3. And whether it be any diſtance of opinion, or difficulty of bringing us to agreement, that keepeth England in its ſad diviſions, or rather ſome men's opinion, that our unity itſelf is not deſirable, leſt it ſtrengthen us? The caſe is plain.

His behaviour in the church was conformable, but prudent. He conſtantly heard a curate, too low for ſuch an auditor. In common-prayer he behaved himſelf as others, ſaving that, to avoid the differencing of the goſpels from the epiſtles, and the bowing at the name of Jeſus, from the names, Chriſt, Saviour, God, &c. he would uſe ſome equality in his geſtures, and ſtand up at the reading of all God's Word alike.

I had but one fear or ſuſpicion concerning him, which ſince I am aſſured was groundleſs: I was afraid leſt he had been too little for the practical part of religion, as to the working of the ſoul towards God, in prayer, meditation, &c. becauſe he ſeldom ſpake to me of ſuch ſubjects, nor of practical books, or ſermons; but was ſtill ſpeaking of philoſophy, or of ſpirits, ſouls, the future ſtate, and the nature of God. But at laſt I underſtood that his averſeneſs to hypocriſy made him purpoſely conceal the moſt of ſuch of his practical thoughts and works, as the world now findeth by his Contemplations, and other writings.

He told me once, how God brought him to a fixed honour and obſervation of the Lord's-day: that when he was young, being in the weſt, the ſickneſs or death of ſome relation at London, made ſome matter of eſtate to become his concernment, which required his haſtning to London from the weſt, and he was commanded to travel on the Lord's-day: but I cannot

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well remember how many croſs accidents befell him in his journey; one horſe fell lame, another died, and much more; which ſtruck him with ſuch a ſenſe of Divine rebuke, as he never forgot.

When I went out of the houſe in which he ſucceeded me, I went into a greater, over-againſt the church-door. The town having great need of help for their ſouls, I preached between the public ſermons in my houſe, taking the people with me to the church (to common prayer and ſermon) morning and evening. The judge told me that he thought my courſe did the church much ſervice; and would carry it ſo reſpectfully to me at my door, that all the people might perceive his approbation. But Dr. Reeves could not bear it, but complained againſt me; and the Biſhop of London cauſed one Mr. Roſſe, of Brainford, and Mr. Philips, two juſtices of the peace, to ſend their warrants to apprehend me. I told the judge of the warrant, but aſked him no counſel, nor he gave me none; but with tears ſhowed his ſorrow (the only time that ever I ſaw him weep). So I was ſent to the common gaol for ſix months, by theſe two juſtices, by the procurement of the ſaid Dr. Reeves [1] (his Majeſty's

[1] His name was Bruno Reeves, a native of Dorsetshire, made one of the clerks in New College, Oxford, in 1610, where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and became one of the chaplains of Magdalen College, in 1616; soon after he took his degree of Master of Arts, became a noted and florid preacher, was vicar of Stanwell in Middlesex, rector of St. Martins Vintry, London, chaplain to Charles I. and in 1639 took the degree of Doctor of Divinity.

At the breaking out of the rebellion his rectory was sequestered by the Presbyterians, and himself plundered and forced to fly. At length he was deprived of his vicarage, and obliged to shift from place to place. The king gave him the deanery of Chichester, and the mastership of the hospital there, though he derived little or no emolument from these situations till the restoration. About this time he was appointed chaplain in ordinary to Charles II. and dean of Windsor, to which was annexed the deanery of Wolverhampton. Afterwards he became rector of Acton, scribe of the Order of the Garter, and rector of Henley in Oxfordshire, which Wood thinks was annexed to the deanery of Windsor, as the deanery of Wolverhampton is. The rigour which Reeves thought proper to exercise against Baxter, cannot be justified on any solid ground; may it not, however, be pleaded, as some extenuation of his conduct, the oppression and violence with which he had himself been treated by that party to which Baxter belonged? It is to be lamented that Reeves was not endowed with a greater portion of Christian forbearance; but he who has not experienced the wanton provocations and grievous injuries, which the rector of Acton had received, is but ill qualified to sit in judgment upon him.

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jeſty's chaplain, dean of Windſor, dean of Wolverhampton, parſon of Horſeley, parſon of Acton). When I came to move for my releaſe upon a habeas corpus (by the counſel of my great friend ſerjeant Fountain) I found that the character which Judge Hale had given of me, ſtood me in ſome ſtead; and every one of the four judges of the Common-pleas did not only acquit me, but ſaid more for me than my counſel, (viz. Judge Wild, Judge Archer, Judge Tyrrel, and the lord chief juſtice Vaughan), and made me ſenſible how great a part of the honour of his Majeſty's government, and the peace of the kingdom, conſiſted in the juſtice of the judges.

And indeed Judge Hale would tell me, that Biſhop Uſher was much prejudiced againſt lawyers, becauſe the worſt cauſes find their advocates; but that he and Mr. Selden had convinced him of the reaſons of it, to his ſatisfaction: and that he did by acquaintance with them, believe that there were as many honeſt men among lawyers, proportionably, as among any profeſſion of men in England (not excepting biſhops or divines.)

And I muſt needs ſay, that the improvement of reaſon, the diverting men from ſenſuality and idleneſs, the maintaining of propriety and juſtice, and conſequently the peace and welfare of the kingdom, is very much to be aſcribed to the judges and lawyers.

But this impriſonment brought me the great loſs of converſe with Judge Hale: for the parliament, in the next act againſt conventicles, put into it divers clauſes ſuited to my caſe; by which I was obliged to go dwell in another county, and to forſake both London and my former habitation; and yet the juſtices of another county were partly enabled to purſue me.

Let us pray for that ſpirit of meekness, charity, and forgiveness, of which he ſtood in ſo much need at the recollection of his paſt ſufferings. One is ſorry to ſee Baxter himſelf, inſtead of making ſome allowances that were certainly due, exhibiting an affected catalogue of his eccleſiaſtical honours and emoluments, to excite the greater indignation againſt his memory, as if they were ſeparate and independent benefices, when he probably knew that many were comprehended in one, and were merely nominal.

Before

Before I went, the judge had put into my hand four volumes (in folio), which he had written, to prove the Being and Providence of God, the Immortality of the Soul, and Life to come, the Truth of Chriſtianity, and of every book of the Scripture by itſelf, beſides the common proofs of the whole. Three of the four volumes I had read over, and was ſent to the gaol before I read the fourth. I turned down a few leaves for ſome ſmall animadverſions, but had no time to give them him. I could not then perſuade him to review them for the preſs. The only fault I found with them of any moment, was that great copiouſneſs, the effect of his fulneſs and patience, which will be called tediouſneſs by impatient readers.

When we were ſeparated, he (that would receive no letters from any man, about any matters which he was to judge) was deſirous of letter-converſe about our philoſophical and ſpiritual ſubjects. I having then begun a Latin *methodus theologiæ*, ſent him one of the ſchemes (before mentioned), containing the generals of the philoſophical part, with ſome notes upon it; which he ſo over-valued, that he urged me to proceed in the ſame way. I objected againſt putting ſo much philoſophy (though moſtly but *de homine*) in a method of theology: but he rejected my objections, and reſolved me to go on.

At laſt it pleaſed God to viſit him with his mortal ſickneſs. Having had the ſtone before (which he found thick pond-water better eaſe him of than the gravel ſpring-water), in a cold journey, an extraordinary flux of urine took him firſt, and then ſuch a pain in his ſide, as forced him to let much blood, more than once, to ſave him from ſudden ſuffocation or oppreſſion. Ever after which he had death in his lapſed countenance, fleſh and ſtrength, with ſhortneſs of breath. Dr. Willis, in his life-time, wrote his caſe without his name, in an obſervation in his Pharmaceut, &c. which was ſhortly printed after his own death, and

and before his patient's: but I dare ſay it, ſo crudely as is no honour to that book.

When he had ſtriven awhile under his diſeaſe, he gave up his place, not ſo much from the apprehenſion of the nearneſs of his death (for he could have died comfortably in his public work), but from the ſenſe of his diſability to diſcharge his part: but he ceaſed not his ſtudies, and that upon points which I could have wiſhed him to let go (being confident that he was not far from his end).

I ſent him a book which I newly publiſhed, for reconciling the controverſies about predeſtination, redemption, grace, free-will, but deſired him not to beſtow too much of his precious time upon it: but (before he left his place) I found him at it ſo oft that I took the boldneſs to tell him, that I thought more practical writings were more ſuitable to his caſe, who was going from this contentious world. He gave me but little anſwer; but I after found that he plied practicals and contemplatives in their ſeaſon; which he never thought meet to give me any account of. Only in general he oft told me, that the reaſon and ſeaſon of his writings (againſt atheiſm, &c. aforeſaid) were, both in his circuit and at home, to ſet apart ſome time for meditation, eſpecially after the evening public worſhip every Lord's-day; and that he could not ſo profitably keep his thoughts in connection and method otherwiſe, as by writing them down; and withal, that if there were any thing in them uſeful, it was the way to keep it for after-uſe: and therefore for the better management, for the accountableneſs and the after-uſe, he had long accuſtomed to pen his meditations; which gave us all of that nature that he hath left us.

Notwithſtanding his own great furniture of knowledge, and he was accounted by ſome ſomewhat tenacious of his conceptions (for men that know much, cannot eaſily yield to the expectations of leſs knowing men),

men), yet I muſt ſay, that I remember not that ever I converſed with a man that was readier to receive and learn. He would hear as patiently, and recollect all ſo diſtinctly, and then try it ſo judiciouſly (not diſdaining to learn of an inferior in ſome things, who in more had need to learn of him), that he would preſently take what ſome ſtand wrangling againſt many years. I never more perceived in any man, how much great knowledge and wiſdom facilitate additions, and the reception of any thing not before known. Such a one preſently perceiveth that evidence which another is incapable of.

For inſtance, the laſt time but one that I ſaw him (in his weakneſs at Acton), he engaged me to explicate the doctrine of divine government (and decree), as conſiſtent with the ſin of man. And when I had diſtinctly told him, 1. What God did, as the author of nature, phyſically: 2. What he did as legiſlator, morally: And 3. What he did, as benefactor, and by ſpecial grace: 4. And where permiſſion came in, and where actual operation: 5. And ſo, how certainly God might cauſe the effects, and not cauſe the volitions, as determinate to evil [though the volition and effect being called by one name (as theft, murder, adultery, lying, &c.) oft deceive men]: he took up all that I had ſaid in order, and diſtinctly twice over repeated each part in its proper place, and with its reaſon; and when he had done, ſaid, that I had given him ſatisfaction.

Before I knew what he did himſelf in Contemplations, I took it not well, that he more than once told me, 'Mr. Baxter, I am more beholden to you than 'you are aware of; and I thank you for all, but eſpe-'cially for your ſcheme, and your Catholic theology.' For I was ſorry, that a man (that I thought) ſo near death, ſhould ſpend much of his time on ſuch controverſies (though tending to end them). But he continued after, near a year, and had leiſure for Contemplations which I knew not of.

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When I parted with him, I doubted which of us would be firſt at heaven: but he is gone before, and I am at the door, and ſomewhat the willinger to go, when I think ſuch ſouls as his are there.

When he was gone to Glouceſterſhire, and his Contemplations were publiſhed by you, I ſent him the confeſſion of my cenſures of him, how I had feared that he had allowed too great a ſhare of his time and thoughts to ſpeculation, and too little to practicals; but rejoiced to ſee the conviction of my error: and he returned me a very kind letter, which was the laſt.

Some cenſured him for living under ſuch a curate at Acton, thinking it was in his power to have got Dr. Reeves, the parſon, to provide a better. Of which I can ſay that I once took the liberty to tell him, that I feared too much tepidity in him, by reaſon of that thing; not that he needed himſelf a better teacher, who knew more, and could overlook ſcandals; but for the ſake of the poor ignorant people, who greatly needed better help. He anſwered me, that if money would do it, he would willingly have done it; but the doctor was a man not to be dealt with; which was the hardeſt word that I remember I ever heard him uſe of any; for I never knew any man more free from ſpeaking evil of others behind their backs. Whenever the diſcourſe came up to the faultineſs of any individuals, he would be ſilent: but the ſorts of faulty perſons he would blame with cautelous freedom, eſpecially idle, proud, ſcandalous, contentious, and factious clergymen. We agreed in nothing more than that which he oft repeateth in the papers which you gave me, and which he oft expreſſed, viz. that true religion conſiſteth in great, plain, neceſſary things, the life of faith and hope, the love of God and man, an humble ſelf-denying mind, with mortification of worldly affection, carnal luſt, &c. And that the calamity of the church, and withering of religion, hath come from proud and buſy men's additions, that cannot give peace to themſelves and others, by living

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in love and quietneſs on this Chriſtian ſimplicity of faith and practice, but vex and turmoil the church with theſe needleſs and hurtful ſuperfluities; ſome by their deciſions of words, or unneceſſary controverſies; and ſome by their reſtleſs reaching after their own worldly intereſt, and corrupting the church, on pretence of raiſing and defending it; ſome by their needleſs ceremonies, and ſome by their ſuperſtitious and cauſeleſs ſcruples. But he was eſpecially angry at them that would ſo manage their differences about ſuch things, as to ſhew, that they had a greater zeal for their own additions, than for the common ſaving truths and duties which we were all agreed in; and that did ſo manage their ſeveral little and ſelfiſh cauſes as wounded or injured the common cauſe of the Chriſtian and reformed churches. He had a great diſtaſte of the books called, A Friendly Debate, &c. and Eccleſiaſtical Polity [1], as from an evil ſpirit, injuring ſcripture phraſe, and tempting the atheiſts to contemn all religion, ſo they might but vent their ſpleen, and be thought to have the better of their adverſaries; and would ſay, how eaſy is it to requite ſuch men, and all parties to expoſe each other to contempt? (Indeed, how many pariſhes in England afford too plenteous matter of reply to one that took that for his part, and of tears to ſerious obſervers?)

His main deſire was, that as men ſhould not be peeviſhly quarrelſome againſt any lawful circumſtances, forms or orders in religion, much leſs think themſelves godly men, becauſe they can fly from other men's circumſtances, or ſettled lawful orders, as ſin; ſo eſpecially, that no human additions of opinion, order, modes, ceremonies, profeſſions, or promiſes, ſhould

[1] It may be proper to remark by way of caution, lest the book here alluded to should be understood of Hooker's immortal work, that he here alludes to a discourse of ecclesiastical policy, written by Samuel Parker, a papist, afterwards bishop of Oxford, and appointed president of Magdalen College, by James, to the exclusion of Hough. *Wood's Athen. Oxon.* EDITOR.

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ever be managed to the hindering of Chriſtian love and peace, nor of the preaching of the Goſpel, nor the wrong of our common cauſe, or the ſtrengthning of atheiſm, infidelity, prophaneneſs, or popery; but that Chriſtian verity and piety, the love of God and man, and a good life, and our common peace in theſe, might be firſt reſolved on and ſecured, and all our additions might be uſed, but in due ſubordination to theſe, and not to any injury of any of them; nor ſects, parties, or narrow intereſts be ſet up againſt the common duty, and the public intereſt and peace.

I know you are acquainted how greatly he valued Mr. Selden, being one of his executors; his books and picture being ſtill near him. I think it meet therefore to remember, that becauſe many Hobbiſts do report, that Mr. Selden was at the heart an infidel, and inclined to the opinions of Hobbs, I deſired him to tell me the truth herein: and he oft profeſſed to me, that Mr. Selden was a reſolved ſerious Chriſtian; and that he was a great adverſary to Hobbs's errors; and that he had ſeen him openly oppoſe him ſo earneſtly as either to depart from him, or drive him out of the room. And as Mr. Selden was one of thoſe called Eraſtians (as his book de Synedriis, and others ſhew) yet owned the office properly miniſterial; ſo moſt lawyers that ever I was acquainted with, taking the word juriſdiction to ſignify ſomething more than the mere doctoral, prieſtly power, and power over their own ſacramental communion in the church which they guide, do uſe to ſay, that it is primarily in the magiſtrate (as no doubt all power of corporal coercion, by mulcts and penalties, is). And as to the accidentals to the proper power of prieſthood, or the keys, they truly ſay with Dr. Stillingfleet, that God hath ſettled no one form.

Indeed, the lord chief juſtice thought, that the power of the word and ſacraments in the miniſterial office, was of God's inſtitution; and that they were the proper judges appointed by Chriſt, to whom they themſelves

ſelves ſhould apply ſacraments, and to whom they ſhould deny them. But that the power of chancellors' courts, and many modal additions, which are not to the eſſence of the prieſtly office, floweth from the king, and may be fitted to the ſtate of the kingdom. Which is true, if it be limited by God's laws, and exerciſed on things only allowed them to deal in, and contradict not the orders and powers ſettled on by Chriſt and his apoſtles.

On this account he thought well of the form of government in the church of England (lamenting the miſcarriages of many perſons), and the want of parochial reformation; but he was greatly for uniting in love and peace, upon ſo much as is neceſſary to ſalvation, with all good, ſober, peaceable men.

And he was much againſt the corrupting of the Chriſtian religion (whoſe ſimplicity and purity he juſtly took to be much of its excellency), by men's buſy additions, by wit, policy, ambition, or any thing elſe which ſophiſticated it, and maketh it another thing, and cauſeth the lamentable contentions of the world.

What he was as a lawyer, a judge, a Chriſtian, is ſo well known, that I think for me to pretend that my teſtimony is of any uſe, were vain. I will only tell you what I have written by his picture, in the front of the great Bible which I bought with his legacy, in memory of his love and name; viz. 'Sir Matthew Hale, 'that unwearied ſtudent, that prudent man, that ſolid 'philoſopher, that famous lawyer, that pillar and baſis 'of juſtice, (who would not have done an unjuſt act for 'any worldly price or motive), the ornament of his ma-'jeſty's government, and honour of England; the 'higheſt faculty of the ſoul of Weſtminſter-hall, and 'pattern to all the reverend and honourable judges; 'that godly, ſerious, practical Chriſtian, the lover of 'goodneſs and all good men; a lamenter of the clergy's 'ſelfiſhneſs, and unfaithfulneſs, and diſcord, and of the 'ſad diviſions following hereupon; an earneſt deſirer of 'their reformation, concord, and the church's peace,

'and of a reformed act of uniformity, as the beſt and 'neceſſary means thereto; that great contemner of the 'riches, pomp and vanity of the world; that pattern of 'honeſt plainneſs and humility, who while he fled from 'the honours that purſued him, was yet Lord Chief Juſ-'tice of the King's Bench, after his being long Lord Chief 'Baron of the Exchequer; living and dying, entering 'on, uſing, and voluntarily ſurrending his place of ju-'dicature, with the moſt univerſal love, and honour, 'and praiſe, that ever did Engliſh ſubject in this age, or 'any that juſt hiſtory doth acquaint us with, &c. &c. &c. 'This man, ſo wiſe, ſo good, ſo great, bequeathing me 'in his teſtament the legacy of forty ſhillings, merely 'as a teſtimony of his reſpect and love, I thought this 'book, the teſtament of Chriſt, the meeteſt purchaſe 'by that price, to remain in memorial of the faithful 'love which he bare and long expreſſed to his inferior 'and unworthy, but honouring friend, who thought to 'have been with Chriſt before him, and waiteth for the 'day of his perfect conjunction with the ſpirits of the 'juſt made perfect.'

RICHARD BAXTER.

A

)NTINUATION OF THE APPENDIX.

(BY THE EDITOR.)

'HAT paſſed during the infancy and boyiſh
s of Hale, till he entered at the Univerſity,
hing is known beyond what Burnet has told.
: the charge, which his biographer alleges againſt
, that he neglected his ſtudies in the latter part
his reſidence at College, is poſitively denied by
Stephens, who publiſhed his Contemplations.
s gentleman, who profeſſes to have occupied a
inguiſhed place in his eſteem and friendſhip,
poſſeſſed a correct knowledge of his early
its, expreſſes himſelf with a degree of warmth
his imputation on the memory of his honored
id. It is, however, but a tribute of juſtice that is
to Burnet, to acquit him of an intention to *miſ-*
eſent a fact to the prejudice of Hale, on whom he
ſhes, at every opportunity, the warmeſt encomiums
his diligence and aſſiduity, no leſs than his piety
virtue.

'he natural gaiety of his diſpoſition and ſprightli-
of his imagination, too eaſily inclined the inex-
enced youth to indulge in the levities of the times,
partake of the pleaſures which preſented them-
es. It was not to be wondered at, therefore, that
the arrival of the players at Oxford, the exhibi-
s of the ſtage ſhould prove a ſpecies of amuſe-
t too captivating to withſtand; and overpower
temporary violence the dictates of his prudence
better judgment. It was not long, however,
re he diſcovered that in proportion as theſe en-
inments gained upon his affections, his habits of

ſerioufneſs relaxed, and his plans of ſtudy were diſconcerted. He ſaw his temporal proſpects were in imminent danger of being intercepted, and, above all, his religious principles of being looſened and eradicated. Before, therefore, his paſſion for theſe vanities acquired ſtrength, he courageouſly reſolved upon its immediate conqueſt. It redounds to the honor of Hale, that he never through the courſe of his life violated the ſolemn vow which he then felt himſelf called upon to make, "That he would never ſee a play more." He accordingly reſumed his habits of vigilance and ſelf-denial, proſecuted his ſtudies with increaſed ardor and aſſiduity, and availed himſelf of the invaluable opportunity, which he had nearly miſſed, of enriching his capacious mind with ſtores of learning, and fixing thoſe virtuous and religious principles which formed the ground-work of his future fame and fortune.

Hale had reaſon to congratulate himſelf on his fortunate eſcape from a ſnare, in which thouſands of both ſexes have been entangled and ruined. His example cannot be too earneſtly recommended to the imitation of the young and inexperienced, who wiſh to preſerve the principles of chaſtity, modeſty, and ſobriety, which they have imbibed in their education, pure and untainted. Though I am fully aware of the tender ground on which I venture, I hold it an imperious duty to warn every parent, who wiſhes to promote the preſent peace and future happineſs of his children, to diſcourage by his example and advice, a propenſity for dramatic entertainments. Allow theſe exhibitions all their boaſted advantages; concede to their advocates the rational and harmleſs ſatisfactions which are to be found in the charms of muſic, poetry and painting; in the ſpecimens of brilliant wit and refined ſentiment, the graces of elocution, the delineation of the paſſions, and the exhibition of human nature under all her forms, and even in her moſt amiable dreſs; yet will it not at the ſame time be allowed, that the gratification ariſing from theſe ſources is purchaſed at much

much too dear a price, when they court an alliance with profaneneſs and immorality, and the path to theſe pleaſures is ſtrewed with temptations to vice of the moſt bewitching and alluring nature? If, by chance, the character and moral of the dramatic compoſition itſelf be free from objection, yet when the circumſtances, which are inſeparably connected with the repreſentation of a *modern playhouſe*, are gravely conſidered, is it not at leaſt unſafe for the ſober youth and unſpotted virgin to viſit it? Is not the danger of corrupting the morals and inflaming the paſſions too great to juſtify a participation in theſe amuſements?

It is poſſible indeed to imagine ſuch a regulated theatre, as ſhall be exempt from the evils which are the ground of complaint; but until ſuch a theatre can be realized, it will be difficult to prove, that theſe evils are not interwoven in the very conſtitution of a dramatic exhibition, and vitally eſſential to its ſucceſs and popularity.

There is implanted in our nature a veneration and reſpect for the majeſty of virtue. Even vice ſtrives to hide her own deformity under her garb. Hence the patrons of theatrical repreſentations have been ſtudious to deny, or, at leaſt, to extenuate the miſchiefs which are imputed to them. Some perſons will gravely contend for their utility, will extol them as ſchools of morality, and will recommend them for the leſſons they teach, and the powerful incentives they propoſe to the cultivation of good and amiable qualities, or the performance of brave and benevolent actions.

It is a conſolatory reflection that this homage is ſtill paid to virtue, that this honourable ſuffrage is univerſally acknowledged to be her due, and both candour and juſtice claim of us the perſuaſion that the warmeſt patrons, and moſt ſtrenuous advocates of theſe exhibitions want only to be convinced of their fatal conſequences, to acknowledge their error and ſubſcribe their recantation.

Names do not alter the nature of good and evil.

in them at Oxford, for upon his firſt peruſing the book, he concluded the ſchoolmen had occupied his attention; and conſidering the time in which it was written, and how ſevere a ſtudent of the law he had been till that time, was deſirous to know when he could have found leiſure for thoſe ſtudies, and what authors he had read; to which Hale replied, "At Oxford; and that he there read Aquinas, Scotus, Suarez," and others whom he particularly named.

Hale carried with him theſe habits and diſpoſitions to Lincoln's-Inn, where he entered upon a courſe of long and intricate ſtudy, to qualify him for that profeſſion, of which he afterwards became ſo illuſtrious an ornament. Before he began his practice, he had peruſed and abridged all the old and all the new law then extant, in two volumes folio; had read over a great part of the Records, had looked into the Canon and Civil Law as far as it contributed to the knowledge of the Common Law; and, in ſhort, had read whatever was to be found in law, hiſtory, or other books, whether in print or manuſcript, which he thought would advance him in the ſkill and knowledge of his profeſſion.

"The juriſprudence of his own country," in the language of Mr. Serjeant Runnington[1], "was by no means the ſole object of his attention. He applied himſelf with great avidity to the contemplation of the Roman law; and though he preferred our mode of deciſion by jury to that of the Civilians, who entruſt too much to the Judge; yet he often affirmed, that the principles of juriſprudence were ſo well delivered in the Digeſts, that law could not be underſtood as a ſcience without firſt reſorting to them for information. This may in ſome degree be diſputable; it is not, however, ſo ſelf-evident, but it may with deference be doubted. Admitting that the knowledge of the Civil Law has deſervedly been conſidered as no ſmall acquiſition to the Engliſh ſtudent; yet is it in reality eſſential to the underſtanding of our own municipal ſyſtem, which, ſanctified as it is, requires not aſſiſtance from

[1] An account of Hale, prefixed to his History of the Common Law.

any

any foreign code, however admirable, or however juſt?" "We muſt not," ſays the learned and elegant commentator, "carry our veneration ſo far as to ſacrifice our Alfred and Edward to the manes of Theodoſius and Juſtinian; we muſt not prefer the edict of the prætor, or the reſcript of the Roman Emperor, to our own immemorial cuſtoms, or the ſanctions of an Engliſh Parliament; unleſs we can prefer the deſpotic monarchy of Rome and Byzantium, for whoſe meridian the former were calculated, to the free conſtitution of Britain, which the latter are adapted to perpetuate [1]."

Wood has ventured to affirm, that at the commencement of the civil war, Hale was influenced by the principles of puritaniſm, which he had early imbibed from Sedgwick, to ſide with the Preſbyterians. The accuracy of this aſſertion there is great reaſon to call in queſtion. Whoever, indeed, peruſes the works of this hiſtorian, will feel himſelf under the neceſſity of ſubſcribing to the obſervation of a diſtinguiſhed writer, that "to Wood every lover of antiquity and literary hiſtory has very high obligations, and in all matters of fact he may be very ſafely relied on; but his opinion of men and things, is of little value." His ſerious deportment, and the ſtrict obſervance of his religious duties, might probably expoſe him to the reproach of a cenſorious world. Men who endeavour to ſupport the conſiſtency of their chriſtian profeſſion, and regulate their conduct and converſation by the ſtandard of the Goſpel, ſhould prepare their minds for the charge of puritaniſm, which the thoughtleſs and diſſipated are ready to fix upon them. But in appealing from the authority of Wood to the writings and actions of Hale himſelf, there will not appear the leaſt foundation for this cenſure. It may rather be preſumed he had early relinquiſhed, if he had ever imbibed theſe tenets. The extravagant notions and violent prejudices of Sedgwick had inſpired an averſion for the principles of that party, and induced him

[1] Bl. c. Comm. 8vo. Vol. I. p. 3.

the

the more readily to embrace thoſe of the Church of England, for whoſe conſtitution and liturgy he entertained the ſtrongeſt predilection, and gave, on various occaſions, unequivocal proofs of his high eſteem and veneration. It appears evident, however, that his notions of Epiſcopacy did not amount to a conviction of its indiſpenſable neceſſity to the conſtitution of a viſible church of Chriſt, however he might be clear as to its apoſtolical authority. Although he was able to trace this form of government by an unbroken ſucceſſion, to the primitive ages of the Church, and the recognition of our Saviour himſelf; yet he probably concluded, that what our Saviour and his Apoſtles had not preſcribed by an expreſs injunction, as *fundamental* and *eſſential*, their example and the conſtant uſage of antiquity were not alone ſufficient to impreſs on it this ſolemn ſtamp. He, however, choſe the ſafe ſide himſelf, and earneſtly recommended to his children and the world a communion with the Church of England; of whoſe venerable ſtructure, the juriſdiction of the Biſhop conſtitutes the corner-ſtone.

Nor is it with leſs injuſtice attributed to him, that he approved of their political principles. His attachment to monarchy was unqueſtionably ſincere and warm, though he might feel a juſt diſpleaſure at the violent and arbitrary meaſures which ſullied the commencement of Charles's reign. They furniſhed him with too many opportunities to declaim againſt their encroachment on the rights and liberties of the ſubject. The ſevereſt condemnation of the abuſes, however, is by no means incompatible with the warmeſt admiration of the principles of a kingly government. Though he probably withdrew himſelf from public ſcenes, yet his high profeſſional character would often lay him under a neceſſity of declaring the principles of the conſtitution, whilſt his unſhaken integrity would reprove their violations without being ſolicitous to enquire who were the authors.

Yet

Yet when he diſcovered the views of the leading patriots, and the extremities to which the aſpiring fanatics were urging the nation, when inſtead of a redreſs of grievances by conſtitutional means, they aimed at nothing leſs than the diſſolution of monarchy, and the life of their ſovereign; his pure and honorable mind muſt have not leſs ſhuddered at their wicked projects, and with equal courage and honeſty borne an unqualified teſtimony againſt their legality.

Hence by purſuing this ſober and conſiſtent line of conduct, and refuſing to enliſt himſelf under the banners of either party, he acquired the confidence of both; and the client, whatever was the complexion of his politics, did not ſcruple to intruſt his cauſe to the tried integrity and ſplendid abilities of Hale.

In the year 1641, the Earl of Strafford was brought to his trial and condemned. Burnet affirms that Hale was retained for his Lordſhip, this, however, as is remarked by Serjeant Runnington, does not appear from the report of his trial, which mentions the names only of Mr. Lane, Mr. Gardiner, Mr. Loe, and Mr. Lightfoot[1]. Nor is it improbable that Burnet was miſtaken, when the youth of Hale is conſidered, which affords a reaſonable preſumption againſt his being retained as counſel in a cauſe of ſuch national magnitude.

A few months after this event had taken place, when the ſpirit of diſaffection, incited by the intrigues of Pym and other leaders of the faction, began to diffuſe itſelf among the people, and even to expoſe the perſon of the King to danger, the young gentlemen of the Inns of Court proceeded in a body to Whitehall, and offered their ſervices to his Majeſty, who received them graciouſly, and ordered them to be handſomely entertained at tables provided for them. the Houſe of Commons reſenting this mark of their

[1] The following expreſſion of Hale on the trial of Chriſtopher Love, leads, however, to the ſuppoſition that Burnet was correct: "I have been commanded to be of counſel with perſons that have been impeached of Treaſon by the Parliament," and then mentions the caſes of Strafford and Laud.—State Trials, vol. i. p. 759.

loyalty

loyalty, ſent for theſe gentlemen, and examined them on the ſubject of a rumour, that they had received orders to hold themſelves in readineſs the fourth of January. The members of Lincoln's-Inn returned for anſwer, "That laſt week they went to Whitehall to offer their ſervice to the King, upon hearing that his perſon was in danger: that yeſternight they had received a meſſage from his Majeſty by Sir William Killegrew and Sir William Flemming, that they ſhould keep within to-morrow, and be ready at an hour's warning if the King ſhould have occaſion to uſe them: that they brought to them likewiſe a paper of articles of accuſation againſt Lord Kimbolton, and five members of the Houſe of Commons: that they had only an intent to defend the King's perſon, and would do their utmoſt alſo to defend the Parliament; being not able to make any diſtinction between the King and his Parliament." The gentlemen of the other Inns returned an anſwer to the ſame effect. Thoſe of the Middle Temple had the courage to tell the Commons, "That their intention to defend the King's perſon, was no more than they were bound to by the oath of allegiance." At this time Hale was about thirty-one years of age, when his character and influence may be ſuppoſed to have been very conſiderable at Lincoln's-inn. What ſhare he had in this important tranſaction, muſt be left to conjecture; but the ſpirit of moderation and prudence which dictated the anſwer of the gentlemen of his Inn, would lead one to ſuppoſe the taſk of framing it had devolved on Hale [1].

In 1643, after the flames of civil war had broken out, and the King and the Parliament had made an appeal to the ſword, the latter publiſhed an ordinance, calling an aſſembly of divines and laymen to be held at Weſtminſter, to be conſulted by both Houſes, for ſettling the government and liturgy of the Church of England. This meaſure was adopted for the purpoſe of ſmoothing the way for the reception of the commiſſioners from the general aſſembly of Scotland, and

[1] Rapin, vol i. p. 718.

treating

treating upon the ſubject of an union of the two churches. The two nations entered into a mutual League and Covenant, and the aſſembly of divines were ordered by both Houſes to frame an exhortation to the taking of the covenant, to be publicly read in every church. It was ordered to be printed and publiſhed, and appointed to be taken by all the members of parliament, and the aſſembly of divines, which was performed with great ſolemnity. This inſtrument, which marked the complexion of the times, and the religious principles of the predominant party, is ſo extraordinary in its nature, and proved ſo important in its influence, as to induce me to tranſcribe it at length, for the ſatisfaction of thoſe who have not had an opportunity of meeting with it.

A ſolemn League and Covenant for Reformation and Defence of Religion, the Honour and Happineſs of the King, and the Peace and Safety of the three Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland:

"We, noblemen, barons, knights, gentlemen, citizens, burgeſſes, miniſters of the goſpel, and commons of all ſorts, in the kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, by the providence of God, living under one king, and being of one reformed religion, having before our eyes the glory of God, and the advancement of the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, the honour and happineſs of the king's majeſty, and his poſterity, and the true public liberty, ſafety, and peace of the kingdoms, wherein every one's private condition is included; and calling to mind the treacherous and bloody plots, conſpiracies, attempts, and practices of the enemy of God, againſt the true religion, and profeſſors thereof, in all places, eſpecially in theſe three kingdoms, ever ſince the reformation of religion; and how much their rage, power, and preſumption, are of late and at this time increaſed and exerciſed; whereof the deplorable eſtate of the church and kingdom of Ireland, the diſtreſſed eſtate of the church and kingdom of England, and the dan-

dangerous eſtate of the church and kingdom of Scotland, are preſent and public teſtimonies: we have (now at laſt) after other means of ſupplication, remonſtrance, proteſtations, and ſufferings for the preſervation of ourſelves and our religion from utter ruin and deſtruction, according to the commendable practice of theſe kingdoms in former times, and the example of God's people in other nations, after a mature deliberation, reſolved and determined to enter into a mutual and ſolemn league and covenant, wherein we all ſubſcribe, and each one of us for himſelf, with our hands lifted up to the moſt high God, do ſwear:

"I. That we ſhall ſincerely, really, and conſtantly, through the grace of God, endeavour in our ſeveral places and callings, the preſervation of the reformed religion in the church of Scotland, in doctrine, worſhip, diſcipline, and government, againſt our common enemies, the reformation of religion in the kingdoms of England and Ireland, in doctrine, worſhip, diſcipline, and government, according to the word of God, and the example of the beſt reformed churches; and we ſhall endeavour to bring the churches of God in the three kingdoms to the neareſt conjunction and uniformity in religion, confeſſing of faith, form of church government, directory for worſhip and catechiſing, that we, and our poſterity after us, may as brethren live in faith and love, and the Lord may delight to dwell in the midſt of us.

"II. That we ſhall in like manner, without reſpect of perſons, endeavour the extirpation of popery, prelacy (that is, church-government by archbiſhops, biſhops, their chancellors and commiſſaries, deans, deans and chapters, archdeacons, and all other eccleſiaſtical officers depending on that hierarchy), ſuperſtition, hereſy, ſchiſm, profaneneſs, and whatſoever ſhall be found to be contrary to ſound doctrine, and the power of godlineſs, leſt we partake in other men's ſins, and thereby be in danger to receive of their plagues, and that the Lord may be one, and his name one, in the three kingdoms.

"III. We

" III. We ſhall with the ſame ſincerity, reality, and conſtancy in our ſeveral vocations, endeavour with our eſtates and lives mutually to preſerve the rights and privileges of the parliaments, and the liberties of the kingdoms; and to preſerve and defend the King's Majeſty's perſon and authority, in the preſervation and defence of the true religion and liberties of the kingdom, that the world may bear witneſs with our conſciences of our loyalty; and that we have no thoughts or intention to diminiſh his Majeſty's juſt power and greatneſs.

" IV. We ſhall alſo, with all faithfulneſs endeavour the diſcovery of all ſuch as have been or ſhall be incendiaries, malignants, or evil inſtruments, by hindering the reformation of religion, dividing the King from his people, or one of the kingdoms from another, or making factions or parties among the people, contrary to this league and covenant, that they may be brought to public trial, and receive condign puniſhment, as the degree of their offences ſhall require or deſerve, or the ſupreme judicatories of both kingdoms reſpectively, or others having power from them for that effect, ſhall judge convenient.

" V. And whereas the happineſs of a bleſſed peace between theſe kingdoms, deſired in former times to our progenitors, is by the good providence of God granted unto us, and hath been lately concluded and ſettled by both parliaments; we ſhall each one of us, according to our place and intereſts, endeavour that they may remain conjoined in a firm peace and union to all poſterity, and that juſtice may be done upon the wilful oppoſers thereof, in manner expreſſed in the precedent articles.

" VI. We ſhall alſo, according to our places and callings in this common cauſe of religion, liberty and peace of the kingdoms, aſſiſt and defend all thoſe who enter into this league and covenant, in maintaining and purſuing thereof; and ſhall not ſuffer ourſelves directly or indirectly, by whatſoever combination, perſuaſion

ſuaſion or terror, to be divided and withdrawn from this bleſſed union and conjunction, whether to make defection on the contrary part, or to give ourſelves to a deteſtable indifferency or neutrality in this cauſe, which ſo much concerneth the glory of God, the good of the kingdom, and the honor of the King, but ſhall all the days of our lives, zealouſly and conſtantly continue therein againſt all oppoſition, and promote the ſame according to our power againſt all lets and impediments whatſoever; and what we ourſelves are not able to ſuppreſs or overcome, we ſhall reveal and make it known, that it may be timely prevented or removed; all which we ſhall do, as in the ſight of God.

"And becauſe theſe kingdoms are guilty of many ſins and provocations againſt God, and his ſon Jeſus Chriſt, as is too manifeſt by our preſent diſtreſſes and dangers, and the fruits whereof, we profeſs and declare before God and the world, our unfeigned deſire to be humbled for our ſins, and for the ſins of theſe kingdoms eſpecially; that we have not as we ought valued the ineſtimable benefit of the goſpel, that we have not laboured for the purity and power thereof, and that we have not endeavoured to receive Chriſt in our hearts, nor to walk worthy of him in our lives, which are the cauſes of other ſins and tranſgreſſions, ſo much abounding among us; and our true and unfeigned purpoſe, deſire and endeavour for ourſelves, and all others under our power and charge both in public and in private, and in all duties we owe to God and man to amend our lives, and each one to go before another in the example of a real reformation, that the Lord may turn away his wrath and heavy indignation, and eſtabliſh theſe churches and kingdoms in truth and peace. And this covenant we make in the preſence of Almighty God the ſearcher of all hearts, with a true intention to perform the ſame, as we ſhall anſwer at that great day when the ſecrets of all hearts ſhall be diſcloſed; moſt humbly beſeeching the Lord

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to ſtrengthen us by his holy ſpirit to this end, and to bleſs our deſires and proceedings with ſuch ſucceſs as may be deliverance and ſafety to his people, and encouragemént to other Chriſtian churches groaning under, or in danger of the yoke of Anti-chriſtian tyranny, to join in the ſame or like aſſociation or covenant, to the glory of God, the enlargement of the kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt, and the peace and tranquillity of Chriſtian kingdoms and commonwealths."

If we credit the teſtimony of Wood, Hale ſubſcribed to this memorable League and Covenant, and, as he had been told, appeared ſeveral times with other laymen among the aſſembly of divines. At the firſt view of this part of his conduct, it might ſeem difficult to explain the motives which impelled him to purſue a courſe ſo totally repugnant to his principles as a Churchman, and his feelings as a Chriſtian. It might be urged, that in ſolemnly ſwearing to exert his endeavours for the *extirpation* of prelacy, he profeſſedly abjured this form of church government, and ſurrendered his pretenſions to that ſpirit of toleration and candour in religion, which pervades his writings and adorns his character This was a public and authentic teſt, by which the religious principles of thoſe who ſubſcribed were to be fully recogniſed. He became therefore no longer a ſilent ſpectator, and paſſive inſtrument of the times, but an avowed and decided partiſan of the Preſbyterian faction. If it were an act of injuſtice to impeach the memory of Hale for this inſtance of ſervile compliance and ſacrifice of his religious principles; upon what ground are the names of Ridley, Latimer, and Cranmer, embalmed in our memory, or even of Charles himſelf, as martyrs in the cauſe of religion? If it be no crime to ſwear the deſtruction of a fabric, which has Chriſt and his Apoſtles for its builders, the conduct of our Reformers, who ſealed with their blood the truths they maintained, partakes no longer the character of primitive zeal and apoſtolical firmneſs, but of obſtinate bigotry and childiſh ſuperſtition.

Notwithſtanding, however, theſe conſpicuous exertions of his zeal and talents in oppoſition to the parliament, he ſtill continued to enjoy the confidence of its members, who employed him on various occaſions in his profeſſional capacity. There could not be a ſtronger proof of the eſtimation in which he was held, than to be appointed counſel to aſſiſt the commiſſioners of parliament to treat with thoſe appointed by the king. In this capacity he appears to have been of important ſervice in the advice he gave upon the ſubject of reducing Oxford. All the emotions of gratitude and affection for that ancient ſeat of piety and learning, to which he was indebted for the foundation of his increaſing celebrity, kindled in his boſom, and powerfully urged him to plead in behalf of its preſervation. Hale could not but cheriſh a filial awe and ſacred reverence for her ſtately turrets riſing to his view, and he would be at no loſs for arguments to prevail on Fairfax to extend his forbearance, and prevent the venerable edifices from being levelled with the ground.

In 1647, after the king was delivered over by the Scots into the power of the parliament, and he became no longer a ſubject of apprehenſion, the army and the commons ſoon began to ſow the ſeeds of mutual jealouſy, which ripened into ſerious complaints and open diſtruſt. The army were graſping at ſupreme power. The houſe of commons contained members of diſtinguiſhed abilities, whoſe ſuperior ſagacity penetrated the views of Cromwell and his aſſociates, then directing the ſprings of the Independent intereſt, and endeavoured to defeat their artful projects. The daring and enterpriſing mind of Cromwell reſolved at one ſtroke to diſappoint their party, by ſtimulating the army to prefer a charge againſt eleven members whoſe hoſtile influence in the houſe was the moſt active and extenſive.

Hale was counſel for theſe members. The reſult was, that the parties ſhould of their own accord demand leave to abſent themſelves from the houſe, and be

be permitted to go beyond ſea for ſix months. The parliament however, ceaſing to be intimidated by the menaces of the army, afterwards reſcinded this reſolution, and voted that they ſhould be received into the houſe.

It has already been ſtated by Burnet, that Hale had the honour to be employed as counſel for king Charles. His majeſty, however, refuſing to ſubmit to the juriſdiction which aſſumed the power of trying him, was not permitted to plead. In a tranſaction which forms in our hiſtory ſo prominent a feature, I cannot reſiſt the pleaſure of tranſcribing the elegant and intereſting deſcription which the deiſtical hiſtorian has given with his uſual preciſion and dignity of language; ſince I am willing to perſuade myſelf 'the brief recital of the trial of a ſovereign,' to adopt the prefatory remark of Mr. Serjeant Runnington, 'in whoſe defence it may rationally be ſup-'poſed Hale was from principle intereſted, added to 'a conjecture not altogether improbable, that he fur-'niſhed the objections which Charles ſo pointedly 'urged, will neither obtrude on the attention nor 'weary the patience of the reader.'

'The dignity of this tranſaction,' ſays Hume, 'cor-'reſponded to the greateſt conception that is ſug-'geſted in the annals of human kind; the delegates 'of a great people ſitting in judgment upon their ſu-'preme magiſtrate, and trying him for his miſgovern-'ment. The ſolicitor, in the name of the commons, 'repreſented that, Charles Stuart, being admitted 'king of England, and truſted with a limited power, 'yet, out of a wicked deſign to erect an unlimited 'government, had traitorouſly levied war againſt the 'parliament and the people whom they repreſented, 'and was therefore impeached as a public and impla-'cable enemy to the commonwealth. After the 'charge was finiſhed, the preſident (Serjeant Brad-'ſhaw) directed his diſcourſe to the king, and told 'him that the court expected his anſwer.

'The king, though long detained a priſoner, and 'now produced as a criminal, ſuſtained the majeſty of 'a monarch. With great dignity he declined the 'authority of the court, and refuſed to ſubmit him-'ſelf to its juriſdiction. He repreſented that, having 'been engaged in treaty with his parliament, and 'having finiſhed almoſt every article, he had expected 'to be brought to his capital in another manner, and 'to have been reſtored to his power as well as to his 'liberty: that he could not perceive any appearance 'of the upper houſe, ſo eſſential a member of the 'conſtitution; and had learned that even the com-'mons, whoſe authority was pretended, were ſubdued 'by lawleſs force, and were bereaved of their liberty: 'that he himſelf was their native hereditary king, nor 'was the whole authority of the ſtate, though free 'and united, entitled to try him, who derived his dig-'nity from the Supreme Majeſty of Heaven: that, 'admitting theſe extravagant principles, which levelled 'all orders of men, the court could plead no power 'delegated by the people, unleſs the conſent of every 'individual, down to the meaneſt and moſt ignorant 'peaſant had been firſt obtained: that he acknow-'ledged without ſcruple that he had a truſt committed 'to him, a truſt moſt ſacred and inviolable; he was 'entruſted with the liberties of the people, and would 'not betray them by recogniſing a power founded on 'the moſt atrocious uſurpation: that, having taken 'arms, and frequently expoſed his life in the defence 'of the conſtitution, he was willing, in this laſt and 'moſt ſolemn ſcene, to ſeal with his blood thoſe pre-'cious rights for which, though in vain, he had ſo 'long contended: that thoſe who had arrogated a 'title to ſit as his judges, were born his ſubjects, and 'born ſubjects to thoſe laws which determined that 'the king can do no wrong: that, he was not re-'duced to the neceſſity of ſheltering himſelf under 'that general maxim which guards every Engliſh 'monarch, even the leaſt deſerving, but was able, by

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'the moſt ſatisfactory reaſons, to juſtify thoſe meaſures 'in which he had been engaged; that, to the whole 'world, and even to them his pretended judges, he 'was deſirous, if called upon in another manner, to 'prove the integrity of his conduct, and aſſert the 'juſtice of thoſe defenſive arms to which, unwillingly 'and unfortunately, he had recourſe; but that, 'in order to preſerve a uniformity of conduct, he 'muſt at preſent forego the apology of his innocence, 'leſt by ratifying an authority no better founded than 'that of robbers and pirates, he be juſtly branded as 'the betrayer, inſtead of being applauded as the 'martyr, of the conſtitution.'

His judges were not to be moved by this unanſwerable plea, but ſtill perſevered in their fatal purpoſe. Inflamed with republican and puritanical rage, in ſpite of every law human and divine, they brought their ſovereign to the ſcaffold; and afterwards, with the ſame levelling hand, laid the peerage, the church, the parliament, and the law itſelf in the duſt.—May our conſtitution, the admiration of foreign countries, and the glory of our own, be equally cheriſhed and revered by the prince and the ſubject! May they be taught by this memorable example, neither by a ſtretch of prerogative on the one hand, nor licentious outrage on the other, to exceed thoſe juſt bounds within which the privileges of the people, and the rights of the monarch, reflect a mutual luſtre, and conſpire to their mutual happineſs!

I cannot, however, ſuppreſs my ſuſpicion, that Burnet has been in this circumſtance alſo miſtaken. His teſtimony, as far as I can diſcover, is unconfirmed. It is difficult to ſuppoſe, if Hale had been employed as counſel to Charles, a profound ſilence would have been obſerved by contemporary writers. It does not appear even that the king called in any lawyer to his aſſiſtance; nor is it neceſſary to draw this inference, from the admirable argument he delivered, who has left behind ſuch ſpecimens of his ſuperior abilities,

and profound knowledge of the laws and conſtitution of England. Wood, though it fell directly in his way, does not venture to aſſert this fact. Roger North, it may be preſumed, would have ſcarcely paſſed it over without ſome remark; and it would have been too extraordinary an anecdote to eſcape at leaſt an incidental mention or diſtant alluſion from the bar or the bench, amidſt the frequent opportunities which the uſe of his great authority afforded. How far this negative evidence may outweigh the ſolitary aſſertion of his biographer, is a queſtion which appears entitled at leaſt to ſome conſideration.

The death of his lawful ſovereign penetrated his mind with unfeigned ſorrow. Hale did not, however, ſhrink from manfully diſcharging his profeſſional duty in defence of thoſe noblemen whoſe loyalty to their king had expoſed them to the vindictive reſentment of parliament. In the trial of the duke of Hamilton (Dr. Walker refuſing to be one of his Grace's counſel), of the four who were aſſigned, Mr. Heron ſpoke curſorily and elegantly, but not very materially; Mr. Parſons, a young man, ſpoke boldly, and to good purpoſe; Mr. Chute, the civilian, ſpoke learnedly, and home; and Mr. Hale, elaborately, and at length[1]. It could not, however, be expected before ſuch a court of judicature, with Bradſhaw for their preſident, that he and the reſt of his noble colleagues would ſucceed better than their royal Maſter.

The commons, after the death of Charles, aſſumed the name of parliament, voted, and afterwards enacted, that the regal office ſhould be aboliſhed, as unneceſſary, burdenſome, and dangerous; and that the ſtate ſhould be governed by the people's repreſentatives in a houſe of commons, without a king or lords, and under a republican form. This important change introduced many others. Inſtead of the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy, a new oath was prepared,

[1] State Trials.

which

which they ſtyled the Engagement [1], by which every man ſwore 'that he would be true and faithful to the 'parliament eſtabliſhed, without a king or houſe of 'peers.'

Upon the trial of Chriſtopher Love, 1651, who was charged with high treaſon, legal exceptions were tendered by Mr. Hale, Mr. Archer, and Mr. Waller, who were ready to ſpeak to them. But when the two latter gentlemen were aſked by the court, whether or no they would ſubſcribe to the Engagement, they anſwered, that they deſired time to conſider of it, and ſo withdrew. After they had withdrawn, Mr. Love moved the court, that Mr. Hale, another of his counſel, might be ſent for; upon which the lord preſident (Mr. Keble) addreſſed him: 'You come as counſel 'for Mr. Love; the gentlemen that were here are 'brought into an incapacity of doing him ſervice that 'way; we aſked them whether they had *engaged*; 'we doubt not you, but tell you the reaſon why we 'did it.'

Mr. Hale.—'My Lord, *I have done it.*'

Lord Preſident.—'Therefore you are aſſigned.'

Mr. Hale.—'I had very late notice of this buſi-'neſs; it was Saturday night late before I had notice 'of it, and the *next day was not a day to think of* '*those things.* Yeſterday was Monday, and the moſt 'part of that day I ſpent in looking over thoſe things 'that had been, I think, preſented to your lordſhip 'and the court; we did not know what command 'your lordſhip would put upon us, *whether you would* '*admit us to ſpeak, and to what you would admit us to* '*ſpeak, and when you would admit us to ſpeak.* It is 'impoſſibe, my lord—I muſt deal plainly; I profeſs it 'is impoſſible for me, in a buſineſs of this great con-

[1] Upon the reſtoration of Charles, 1661, 20th May, the two houſes of parliament ordered, that the writing called the Solemn League and Covenant ſhould be burned by the common hangman, (which was performed with great rejoicings) and this act for ſubſcribing the Engagement againſt a king and houſe of peers. RAPIN.

'ſequence,

'ſequence, to undertake to ſpeak any thing for the 'preſent, till ſuch time as I know your lordſhip's di-'rections; and this was that we acquainted the gen-'tleman with, as ſoon as ever I ſaw him, and the 'firſt time that ever I ſaw him, which was but this 'day.'

The warmeſt admirer of Hale muſt admit that his ſubſcription to an inſtrument of this complexion is a ground upon which his principles of attachment to a regal government may reaſonably be queſtioned. For though it be true that Charles I. was no more, yet Hale was too enlightened and intelligent to conclude that there was an end of monarchy. The prince was alive, and unſubdued, who it might be rationally ſuppoſed, would make an effort to aſcend his father's throne, and aſſert his legitimate rights. The tenor of this Engagement was a direct contradiction to the letter and ſpirit of the Covenant which he had taken. If then there be any meaning attached to words, and any ſanction and value to the ſolemnity of an oath, by what train of reaſoning can the conduct of Hale be juſtified? What elſe is implied in this Engagement than a ſolemn recognition of thoſe principles upon which Charles was arraigned and condemned? What elſe than an unqualified rejection of a regal form of government, and an unfeigned approbation and indelible ſeal of fidelity to a parliament eſtabliſhed without a king or houſe of lords? If oaths are things which men may allow themſelves to take upon the aſcendancy of a party, and conſidered only binding ſo long as intereſt or violence ſhall preſcribe, then indeed the conduct of Hale will admit of an apology. I confeſs, with all my admiration of his character, and full conviction of his integrity, I feel myſelf at a loſs for reaſons to exculpate him in this inſtance from the charge of puſillanimity, ſelfiſhneſs, or verſatility of principle. How much brighter would his character have ſhone, if he had followed the example of his learned friends, and with the ſame firmneſs

neſs returned the judge their anſwer! He would, indeed, have ſacrificed his intereſt to his principles, but he would have diſplayed the virtues of ſuffering loyalty, and tranſmitted his name with unſullied luſtre to an admiring poſterity.

It is with extreme reluctance, and the greateſt deference, I have felt myſelf obliged to offer this opinion ſo unfavourable to his memory. For though it would betray in the biographer an unpardonable ignorance of human nature, and reprehenſible partiality for his ſubject, to hold him up an image of unſpotted innocence, and unerring rectitude, yet the uniform tenor and general complexion of Hale's character, his acknowledged reputation for learning, integrity, and piety, of which he gave an inſtance in the exordium I have tranſcribed, all forbid us to ſuppoſe he was not tremblingly alive to the ſanctity of an oath, and rather than wound the peace of his conſcience, would not ſubmit to the bittereſt privations. That he acted from motives which acquitted him at the tribunal of his own conſcience, it is reaſonable to preſume, though we have the misfortune to be unacquainted with them. Nor can this apology, with juſtice, be placed to an exceſs of candour, or an undue bias in favour of one who had the firmneſs very ſoon after to refuſe the offer of a ſeat on the bench, and to tell Cromwell, when he aſked his reaſons, 'that he 'was not ſatisfied about his authority, and therefore 'ſcrupled to accept the commiſſion.'

To which the uſurper is ſaid to have made this remarkable reply: 'That as he had gotten poſſeſſion 'of the government, he was reſolved to maintain it. 'I will not be argued out of it. It is my deſire to 'rule according to the laws of the land, for which 'purpoſe I have pitched upon you; but if you won't 'let me govern by *red* gowns, I am reſolved to go-'vern by *red* coats [1].'

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[1] Mr. Serjeant Runnington expreſses a doubt whether at that time the army had any regular uniforms; and if they had, whether it was ſcarlet.

It is poſſible he had been prevailed on, by a ſentiment of exalted patriotiſm, to take the Engagement: poſſibly by the hope of being in a capacity to meliorate the deplorable ſituation of his country, or at leaſt to oppoſe the ſubverſion of the eſtabliſhed laws, and by ſtepping forward in the breach to prevent the entire diſſolution of the machine of government. For it appears by the journals of the commons, that in Jan. 1651, a number of perſons, of whom Mr. Hale is firſt named, were appointed by the parliament to conſider of the reformation of the law, and were aſſigned the room, which had been the houſe of lords, to hold their deliberations. The reſt of the committee were: William Steel, Eſq. the Recorder of London, Charles George Cock, Eſq. Mr. Manby, Mr. Sadler, Colonel Blount, Sir Henry Blount, Knt. Mr. Berners, Major General Deſborough, Mr. Mayer, Colonel Tomlinſon, John Fountain, Eſq. Alderman Fowk, Hugh Peters, clerk, Major Packer, Sir William Roberts, Mr. Millwood, Mr. Manſell, John Ruſhworth of Lincoln's-inn, Mr. Sparrow, and Sir Anthony Aſhley Cooper, Bart. They were to take into their conſideration what inconveniences there were in the law; how the miſchiefs which grew from delays, the chargeableneſs and irregularities in the proceedings of the law, might be prevented, and the ſpeedieſt way to prevent the ſame, and to preſent their opinions to the committee of parliament appointed for that purpoſe; and they, or any ſeven of them, had power to ſend for any perſons to

ſcarlet. It has escaped the recollection of the learned and reſpectable gentleman, that *red coats* are expreſsly mentioned in the State Trials, upon the noted Hugh Peters, and Daniel Axtel, againſt whom Sir Purbeck Temple gives this evidence: "My lord, another paſſage he puts into my memory; when I did obſerve a thouſand of ſad faces, I ſaw none laughing but yourſelf, as if you had been carouſing and entertaining the ſoldiers. I do not charge you that you commanded theſe halberdiers, but thoſe *red coats*; you were all in *red*: I ſaw you caue thoſe four or five ſoldiers I mentioned, till they cried juſtice, juſtice with you; and that with the powder in the palms of their hands, they forced the king to riſe out of his chair, which you were much pleaſed with, and laughed."

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confer with them on this buſineſs, and for records. They met ſeveral times, and deſired the judges, in their ſeveral courts, to return to them a liſt of their ſeveral officers, what fees they received, and what they did for the ſame. And none was more buſy than Hugh Peters, who underſtood little of the law, and was very opinionative.

On the 21ſt of Jan. they paſſed the following reſolutions: 'If the defendant in a perſonal action, before 'pleading, tender ſatisfaction to the plaintiff, with 'coſts of ſuit, and it appear afterwards at the trial 'before the jury ſufficient, and not accepted of, the 'plaintiff to loſe his own, and pay the other's coſt in 'the ſuit. That ſummons be the firſt proceſs in all 'perſonal actions, with the true date when ſerved forth 'and executed, upon oath, and returnable within 'fifteen days after the ſervice; the defendant to have 'a copy from the original, under ſeal, given or left 'at his houſe, and the cauſe of the ſuit ſet down in the 'body of the writ; that upon default of appearing, 'a further proceſs be granted to arreſt the party, till 'he appear or give warrant. And in caſe of non-'appearance, the defendant's lands and goods to be 'diſtrained to a certain value, till he appear or give 'warrant.'

On the 23d of March, they preſented to the committee of parliament, the draughts of ſeveral acts: two of which were for taking away common recoveries and the unneceſſary charge of fines, and to paſs and charge lands entailed, as lands in fee ſimple; for aſcertaining arbitrary fines upon deſcent and alienation of copyholds of inheritance: very neceſſary laws to reſtrain the oppreſſions of lords of manors [1].

With what independance of mind, and exact impartiality he adminiſtered juſtice on the bench, to which he was advanced at the importunity of Cromwell, has been amply detailed by Burnet; nor is it in

[1] Whitelock.

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my power to gratify the curioſity of the reader with any additional incidents during that important period.

In 1658, he was choſen burgeſs for the Univerſity of Oxford, to ſerve in Richard's parliament. I have ſearched, but without ſucceſs, for a confirmation of Wood's teſtimony. Perhaps it is vain to inquire why he was not re-elected to ſerve for his native county. Is it too bold a conjecture to ſuppoſe the Univerſity conferred on Hale this flattering diſtinction, both as a teſtimony of their approbation for refuſing any longer to act as judge under the authority of a uſurper, and chiefly from a ſentiment of gratitude for his ſucceſsful exertions in reſcuing the venerable ſeat from deſtruction?

In the year 1660, he was returned a member for the county of Glouceſter, to ſerve in the parliament which called home Charles II. "Averſe as he was from thoſe principles," ſays Mr. Serjeant Runnington, "which actuated the government of Cromwell, he nevertheleſs avoided the extremities into which the temerity of the loyaliſts too often precipitated them. Faction and party he equally deſpiſed; nay, attached as he was to monarchy, and his ſovereign, he was not, on the reſtoration (of which he was a conſiderable promoter) for receiving Charles, without reaſonable reſtrictions; conceiving this to be, of all other incidents, the moſt opportune to limit that prerogative which had given riſe to ſuch recent and unparalleled calamities.

"We are taught under every form of government, to apprehend uſurpation, either from the abuſe or from the extenſion of the executive power; and though it be no advantage to a prince to enjoy more power than is conſiſtent with the good of his ſubjects, yet this maxim is but a feeble ſecurity againſt the paſſions and follies of men. Thoſe who are entruſted with power in any degree, are diſpoſed, from the mere diſlike of conſtraint, to remove oppoſition. Senſible

of

of ſuch truths [1], Hale moved the commons that, 'a committee might be appointed to look into the propoſitions which had been made, and the conceſſions which had been offered by the late king; that from thence they might digeſt ſuch propoſitions as they ſhould think fit to be ſent over to the king [2].'

"This motion through the influence of Monk [3], failed of ſucceſs; it ſhewed, however, that Hale entertained a warm regard for the public, a high reſpect for its laws, and that he was no friend to thoſe opinions which tended to ſupport the indefeaſible right of prerogative. The motives which determined the fate of this motion, were the very reverſe of, and equally in extreme with thoſe which influenced the commons againſt Charles the Firſt. The general opinion now ſeemed to condemn all jealous capitulations with the ſovereign. Harraſſed with convulſions, men ardently wiſhed for repoſe, and were terrified at the mention of negociation or delay. Added to this, the paſſion for liberty having produced ſuch horrid commotions, began to give place to a ſpirit of loyalty and obedience [4].

"Why Monk ſhould diſapprove the impoſition of rational conditions, is not eaſily to be accounted for; he ſeemed reſolved, however, that the crown he intended to reſtore ſhould be conferred on the king free and unincumbered. He knew not, perhaps, that liberty is never in greater danger than when we meaſure national felicity by the bleſſings which a prince may beſtow, or by the mere tranquillity which may

[1] Ferguson on Civil Society. [2] Burnet's History, 8vo. vol. 1. p 122.

[3] As such a motion was foreseen, Monk was instructed how to answer it. He told the house that he had information of such numbers of incendiaries still in the kingdom, that if any delay was put to the sending for the king, he could not answer for the peace either of the nation or army. And as the king was to bring neither army nor treasure with him, either to fright or to corrupt them, propositions might be as well offered to him when he should come over; so he moved for sending commissioners immediately. This was echoed with such a shout over the house, that the motion was no more insisted on. Burnet's History of his own Times, p. 88, 89.

[4] Hume.

attend

and anterior to the glorious Revolution, men of pliant diſpoſitions were raiſed to the bench; while thoſe who diſtributed juſtice were removed; even-handed juſtice gave way to wicked policy; objects the moſt precious were by vicious conſtructions, without ceremony and without fear, ſacrificed by thoſe whoſe duty it was to protect and preſerve them. Sad and melancholy muſt have been the proſpect; for when the channels of public juſtice are corrupted, when juſtice itſelf is corrupted into the means of revenge, political miſery is arrived to its height. From the numerous inſtances which might be educed in ſupport of the aſſertion, the following one is ſufficient to eſtabliſh it beyond a doubt or contradiction. In the year 1683, on the trial of lord Ruſſell, Jeffreys in his ſpeech to the jury, turned the untimely fate of Eſſex into a proof of the conſpiracy in which he and Ruſſell had been engaged. Pemberton was removed from the head of the king's bench, and even from the privy council, and Jeffreys put in his place[1], in order, by the fierceneſs of his manners, to cope with a man the vigor of whoſe ſpirit was known throughout Europe.

In the year 1691, a bill paſſed both houſes to make the ſalaries and offices of the judges for life, but the King even at that great æra of liberty, refuſed his aſſent, leaving room *for a ſucceeding monarch to give unaſked* to the wiſhes of the people, what William refuſed to their prayers. However, to maintain the dignity and independance of the judges, it was ſoon after enacted that their commiſſions ſhould be made not as formerly, *Durante bene placito*[2], but *Quamdiu bene ſe geſſerint*[3]. Their ſalaries were alſo aſcertained and eſtabliſhed, and their removal declared lawful, on the addreſs of both houſes of parliament. This law has been ſince improved. His preſent Majeſty in the beginning of his reign, declared from the throne, that

[1] Jeffreys did not immediately ſucceed Sir Francis Pemberton, whoſe immediate ſucceſſor was Sir Edmund Saunders.

[2] During the pleaſure of the crown.

[3] As long as there was no legal impeachment of their conduct.

he

'he looked upon the independance and uprightneſs 'of the judges, as eſſential to the impartial adminiſtra-'tion of juſtice, as one of the beſt ſecurities of the rights 'and liberties of his ſubjects, and as moſt conducive 'to the honour of the Crown; and therefore earneſtly 'recommended to parliament, that the judges might 'be continued during their good behaviour, notwith-'ſtanding any demiſe of the Crown.' This the parliament immediately took into conſideration, and with all poſſible diſpatch paſſed a law in every reſpect conformable with the recommendation."

It cannot be ſuppoſed that our illuſtrious judge was exempt from the frailties of humanity. There is one circumſtance recorded of him, which ſufficiently proves indeed, that he had not riſen ſuperior to the ſuperſtitious credulity of the times. It almoſt ſurpaſſes belief at the preſent day, with what reverence and horror our forefathers looked upon nature, before the world was enlightened by learning and philoſophy, and how they loved to aſtoniſh themſelves with the apprehenſions of witchcrafts, prodigies, charms, and enchantments. There was not a village in England that had not a ghoſt in it, the church-yards were all haunted, every large common had a circle of fairies belonging to it; and there was ſcarce a ſhepherd to be met with who had not ſeen a ſpirit[1]! The mind is overwhelmed in aſtoniſhment at the fact, that Sir Matthew Hale, the moſt pious, learned, enlightened, and humane judge, that ever adorned the Bench, ſhould declare his *belief in witchcraft*[2], at the aſſizes held March 10th, 1664, at Bury St. Edmund's, in Suffolk, where he paſſed the ſentence of death upon two old crazy wretches for that ſuppoſed crime, for which they were executed on the 17th of the ſame month. Before we venture to reproach his memory with extreme ſeverity, we ought, in candor, to take into account the ſtrong prejudices of the times in which he lived[3]. And it is but an act of juſtice to his

[1] Spectator, 419.

[2] The ſtatute of 1 Jac. cap. 12. againſt conjuration, witchcraft, &c. was repealed by an act of 9 Geo. 2. cap. 5.

[3] The Chief Juſtice North dreaded the trying of a witch; for it *was ſeldom, in thoſe times,* that a poor old wretch was brought to

his character to ſtate the grounds upon which he reſted his belief of this doctrine: 'Firſt, becauſe the Scriptures affirm it Secondly, Becauſe the wiſdom of all nations, particularly our own, hath provided laws againſt witchcraft; which implies a belief of ſuch a crime.'

Of his deteſtation of vice and immorality, he did not ſcruple on all occaſions to bear his decided and public teſtimony. The debaucheries and looſe behaviour of Sir William Scroggs, then Serjeant at Law,

trial upon that account, but she was persecuted with a popular rage, which clamoured for her death; and if a judge had the courage to declare against that vulgar opinion, the common people were ready to exclaim that the judge has no religion, for he does not believe witches. An old man was tried before Judge North, for a wizzard: The evidence against him was, the having bewitched a girl of about thirteen years old; for she had strange and unaccountable fits, and used to cry out upon him, and spit out of her mouth straight pins; and whenever the man was brought near her, she fell into her fits and spit forth straight pins. His lordship wondered at the straight pins, which could not be so well couched in the mouth as crooked ones; for such only used to be spit out by people bewitched. He examined the witnesses very tenderly and carefully, so as none could collect what his opinion was, for he was fearful of the jurymen's precipitancy if he gave them any offence. When the poor man was told he must answer for himself, he entered upon a defence as orderly and well expressed and sensible, as if it had been conducted by the attorney-general himself. The sum of it was malice, threatening, and circumstances of imposture in the girl; to which matters he called his witnesses, and they were heard. After this was done, the judge was not satisfied to direct the jury, before the imposture was fully cleared, but studied, and beat the bush a while, asking sometimes one, and then another question, as he thought proper. At length he turned to the justice of the peace that committed the man, and took the first examinations; 'And, Sir,' said he, 'pray will you ingenuously 'declare your thoughts, if you have any, touching these straight pins 'which the girl spit, for you saw her in her fit?' 'Then, my Lord,' said he, 'I did not know that I might concern myself in the evidence, 'having taken the examination, and committed the man. But since 'your Lordship demands it, I must needs say, I think the girl dou-'bling herself in her fit, as being convulsed, bent her head down close 'to her stomacher, and with her mouth took pins out of the edge of 'that, and then righting herself a little, spit them into some by-'stander's hands. This gave a universal satisfaction to the whole audience, and the man was acquitted. As the judge went down stairs out of the court, an hideous old woman cried, 'God bless your 'Lordship!' 'What is the matter, good woman?' said the judge; 'My Lord,' said she, 'Forty years ago they would have hanged me 'for a witch, and they could not; and now they would have hanged 'my poor son.' NORTH's *Life of Lord Guilford*, *p.* 138.

who

who was afterwards made Lord Chief Juſtice of the King's-bench, rendered him highly obnoxious to the venerable judge, who refuſed him the privilege, which he claimed, of a ſerjeant when he was arreſted for a debt by a King's-bench warrant.

His Lordſhip would ſometimes relax the gravity of his deportment on the Bench, and relieve the ſolemnity of his magiſterial character, by an occaſional effuſion of innocent humour. In his diſcernment of riſing merit, he felt a pleaſure in acknowledging it, and readily embraced the opportunity of paying a delicate compliment worthy of the accompliſhed gentleman to beſtow, and highly gratifying to the feelings of him who receives it.

He entertained a high opinion of the profeſſional ſkill of Mr. North (afterwards Lord Keeper of the Great Seal) and believed he would become eminent in the law. When the court was ſeated, the judge ſeeing North puſhing very hard to get in, ſpoke from the bench, 'to make way for the little gentleman, 'for,' ſaid he, 'he will ſoon make way for himſelf[1]'

It has been intimated that he had cultivated a taſte for architecture, and the arts. He, appears, however, to have thought that every branch ſhould be ſtudied and cultivated with a view to practical utility.

When the Duke of Beaufort was engaged in his building at Badminton, his neighbour, the Lord Chief Juſtice Hale, made him a viſit, and obſerving the many contrivances the Duke had for the diſpoſing of ſo great a family, he craved leave to ſuggeſt one to him, which he thought would be much for his ſervice, and it was 'to have but one door to his houſe, and the 'window of his ſtudy, where he ſat, moſt open upon 'that[2].' The principle upon which he offered this advice to his Grace, was founded on a long experience of the world, and a conviction that a regard to œconomical arrangements was not only compatible with

[1] North, p. 46. [2] Ibid.

the moſt exalted ſtations, but neceſſary to the ſecurity and permanence of the moſt ſplendid fortunes.

The Counteſs of Pembroke choſe for her reſidence the ancient caſtle belonging to the Earl of Thanet, at Appleby, in Weſtmoreland: ſhe was a lady of great magnificence, diſtinguiſhed for her learning, and adorned various parts of the caſtle with inſcriptions, and under the old pictures, which contained a conſiderable portion of the hiſtory and pedigree of the family. Hale is ſaid to have aſſiſted the counteſs in the peruſal and the arrangement of her evidences and monuments, and ſupplied her with fair extracts from them.

It may be proper here to mention, that as a teſtimony of reſpect and gratitude for the important ſervices which the judges rendered the City after the dreadful conflagration in 1666, by their ſtrict juſtice and amicable arrangements of differences between the landlord and tenant, in which undertaking Judge Hale bore ſo diſtinguiſhed a part, the citizens cauſed their portraits to be hung up in Guildhall [1].

Our excellent Judge did not confine his views of uſefulneſs to the ſtrict routine of his public duty. He wiſhed to convert his moments of relaxation to advantage, and render them a ſeaſon of communication and improvement to others. Every crumb and fragment of time was valuable to him. His copious

[1] The portrait of Sir Matthew Hale was painted by one Michael Wright. Mr. Granger enumerates the following portraits of Sir Matthew Hale, viz.

Sir Matthew Hale, Lord Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench; M. Wright, P. G. Vertue, ſc. 1735. h. ſh.

Mattheus Hale, miles, &c. R. White, ſc. a roll in his right hand; large h. ſh. A copy by Van Hove.

Sir Matthew Hale; large h. ſh. copied from White.

Mattheus Hale, miles, &c, Van Hove, ſc. ſitting in an elbow chair; h. ſh.

Mattheus Hale, &c. Van Hove, ſc. ſitting, 8vo.

Mattheus Hale, &c. Clarke, ſc ſitting, 8vo.

Lord Chief Juſtice Hale; ſmall 4to. Printed with the "Sum of Religion" in a large half ſheet. Grang. Biog. Hiſt. vol. iii. 8vo. 365.

ſtores

ſtores of profound learning and practical knowledge, which his indefatigable induſtry and long experience had collected, he did not think it ſufficient to diſtribute from the bench for the benefit of the public or the bar; nor was he ſatisfied with the legacy of voluminous manuſcripts he was accumulating and intended to bequeath to his profeſſion. He was convinced how much was to be gathered from oral information, and familiar converſe. The complete maſter of his profeſſion treaſures up original remarks and valuable obſervations, which he may be unwilling to commit to writing, or want the opportunity of delivering from the *chair*, but the domeſtic pupil or confidential friend liſtens to with avidity, and receives with gratitude.

[1] The following account exhibits the courteſy of his manners, and communicative diſpoſition, no leſs than his zeal and ſolicitude for the promotion of uſeful knowledge, in a ſtriking point of view, and will, no doubt, prove a high gratification. It is copied from a MS. in the poſſeſſion of Bennet Langton, Eſq. the friend of Dr. Johnſon, and in the handwriting of Mr. Langton's great-grand-father, who ſtudied the law under the direction of Sir Matthew Hale.

'Dec. 13, —72. I was ſent to by Mr. Barker, 'to come to him to my Lord Chief Juſtice Hale's 'lodgings at Serjeants-Inn.

'I was informed by Mr. Godolphin about a month 'ago, that my Lord Chief Juſtice had declared at 'ſupper at Mr. Juſtice Twiſden's, that if he could 'meet with a ſober young man that would entirely 'addict himſelf to his lordſhip's direction, that he 'would take delight to communicate to him, and 'diſcourſe with him at meals, and at leiſure times, 'and in three years time make him perfect in the 'practice of the law. I diſcourſed ſeveral times with 'Mr. Godolphin, of the great advantage that a ſtu-'dent would make by his lordſhip's learned commu-'nication, and what influence it would have on a

[1] Seward's Anecdotes.

'practiſer, as well as honour, to be regarded as my 'lord's friend; and perſuaded him to uſe his intereſt 'and the offices of his friends, to procure his lord-'ſhip's favour. But his inclinations leading him to 'travel, and his deſigns afterwards to rely upon his 'intereſt at court, he had no thoughts to purſue it, 'but offered to engage friends on my behalf, which 'I refuſed, and told him I would make uſe of no 'other perſon than my worthy friend Mr. Barker, 'whoſe acquaintance with my lord I knew was very 'particular. After I had often reflected upon the 'nobleneſs of my lord's propoſition, and the happi-'neſs of that perſon that ſhould be preferred by ſo 'learned and pious a man, to whoſe opinion every 'court paid ſuch a veneration that he was regarded 'as the oracle of the law, I made my application 'to Mr. Barker to intercede with my lord in my be-'half, who aſſented to it with much readineſs, as he 'always had been very obliging to me ſince I had 'the honour to be known to him. He made a viſit 'to my lord, and told him that he heard of the 'declaration my lord made at Mr. Juſtice Twiſden's. 'My lord ſaid it was true, and he had entertained 'the ſame reſolution a long time; but not having 'met with any body to his purpoſe, he had diſcarded 'thoſe thoughts, which Mr. B. did beg of his 'lordſhip to reſume in behalf of a perſon that he 'would recommend to him, and would be ſurety for 'his induſtry and diligent obſervation of his lordſhip's 'directions. My lord then enquired who it was, and 'he mentioned me. Then he aſked how long I had 'been at the law, of what country I was, and what 'eſtate I had; which he told him, and that I was 'my father's eldeſt ſon. To which he replied, that 'he might talk no farther of it, for there was no 'likelihood that I would attend to the ſtudy of the 'law as I ought: but Mr. B. gave him aſſurances 'that I would; that his lordſhip might rely upon 'his word; and that I had not taken this reſolution

'without

'without deliberation; that I had often been at Weſt-'minſter Hall, where I had heard his lordſhip ſpeak, 'and had a very great veneration for his lordſhip, 'and did earneſtly deſire this favor: That my father 'had lately purchaſed the ſeat of the family which 'was ſold by the elder houſe, and by that means had 'run himſelf into 5 or 6,000l. debt.'

'Well then,' ſaid my lord, 'I pray bring him to 'me.'

'Dec. 18. I went to my lord and Mr. B. (for till 'that time my lord was either buſy or out of town) 'about four in the afternoon. My lord prayed us 'to ſit, and after ſome ſilence Mr. B. acquainted my 'lord that I was the perſon on whoſe behalf he had 'ſpoken to his lordſhip. My lord then ſaid, that he 'underſtood that I had a fortune, and therefore would 'not ſo ſtrictly engage myſelf in the crabbed ſtudy 'of the law as was neceſſary for one that muſt make 'his dependance upon it. I told his lordſhip, that 'if he pleaſed to admit me to that favor I heard he 'deſigned to ſuch a perſon he enquired after, that I 'ſhould be very ſtudious. My lord replied quick, 'that Mr. B. had given him aſſurances of it, that Mr. 'B. was his worthy friend, with whom he had been 'acquainted a long time, and that for his ſake he 'ſhould be ready to do me any kindneſs; for which 'I humbly gave his lordſhip thanks, as did likewiſe 'Mr. B. My lord aſked me how I had paſſed my 'time, and what ſtanding I was of. I told him, that 'I was almoſt ſix years of the Temple, that I had 'travelled into France about two years ago, ſince 'when I had diſcontinued my ſtudies of the law, ap-'plying myſelf to the reading French books, and 'ſome hiſtories. My lord diſcourſed of the neceſſity 'of a firm uninterrupted proſecution of that ſtudy 'which any man deſigned——in the midſt of which 'Mr. Juſtice Twiſden came in, ſo that his lordſhip bid 'us come to him again two hours after.

'About

'About eight the ſame evening we found his lord-'ſhip alone. After we ſat down, my lord bid me tell 'him what I read in Oxford, what here, and what in 'France. I told him, I read Smith's Log. Burgerſdi-'cius's Nat. Phil. Metaphyſics and Moral Philoſophy; 'that in the afternoons I uſed to read the Claſſic 'authors. That at my firſt coming to the Inns of 'Court, I read Littleton, and Doctor and Student, 'Perkins, my Lord Coke's Inſtitutes, and ſome caſes 'in his Reports. That after I went into France, I ap-'plied myſelf to the learning of the language, and 'reading ſome French Memoirs, as the Life of Ma-'zarine, Memoirs of the D. of Guiſe, the Hiſtory of 'the Academie Fr. and others; that ſince I came 'away, I continued to read ſome French books, as 'the Hiſtory of the Turkiſh Government by ———, 'the Account of the laſt Dutch War, the State of 'Holland, &c. That I read a great deal in Heylin's 'Geog. ſome of Sir Walter Raleigh, my Lord Ba-'con of the Advancement of Learning, Tully's Offi-'ces, Ruſhworth's Collections.

'My Lord ſaid, that the ſtudy of the law was to 'one of theſe two ends: firſt, to fit a man with ſo 'much knowledge as will enable him to underſtand 'his own eſtate, and live in ſome repute among his 'neighbours in the country; or ſecondly, to deſign 'the practice of it as an employment to be advantaged 'by it; and aſked which of them was my purpoſe. 'I acquainted his lordſhip, that when I firſt came to 'the Temple, I did not deſign to proſecute the ſtudy 'of the law ſo as to make advantage by it; but now, 'by the advice of my father and my uncle, and Dr. 'Peirſe, in whoſe college I had my education, and re-'ceived many inſtances of his great kindneſs to me, I 'had reſolutions to practiſe it, and therefore made my 'ſuit to his Lordſhip for his directions.

'Well, ſaid my Lord, ſince I ſee your intentions, 'I will give what aſſiſtance I can.

'My

'My Lord ſaid, that there were two ways of ap-
'plying one's ſelf to the ſtudy of the law: one was
'to attain the great learning and knowledge of it
'which was to be had in all the old books; but that
'did require great time, and would be at leaſt
'ſeven years before a man would be fit to make any
'benefit by it: the other was, by fitting one's ſelf for
'the practice of the court, by reading the new reports,
'and the preſent conſtitution of the law; and to this
'latter my Lord adviſed me, having already paſſed ſo
'much time, a great many of the caſes ſeldom com-
'ing in practice, and ſeveral of them antiquated.

'In order to which ſtudy, his Lordſhip did direct
'that I ſhould be very exact in Littleton, and after
'read carefully my Lord Coke's Littleton, and then
'his Reports. After which, Plowden, Dier, Croke,
'and More. That I ſhould keep conſtantly to the
'exerciſes of the Houſe, and in term to Weſtminſter
'Hall to the King's Bench, becauſe the young lawyers
'began their practice there: That I ſhould aſſociate
'with ſtudious perſons rather above than below my
'ſtanding; and after next term get me a common-
'place book; and that I muſt ſpoil one book, bind-
'ing Rolles' Abr. with white paper between the leaves,
'and according to thoſe titles inſert what I did not
'find there before, according to the preface to that
'book, which my Lord ſaid, came from his hands,
'and that he did obtain of Sir Francis Rolles to ſuf-
'fer it to be printed, to be a platform to the young
'ſtudents. My Lord ſaid he would, at any time that
'I ſhould come to him, ſhew me the method he uſed,
'and direct me, and that if he were buſy he would
'tell me ſo.

'He ſaid, that he ſtudied ſixteen hours a day for
'the firſt two years that he came to the Inns of Court,
'but almoſt brought himſelf to his grave, though he
'were of a very ſtrong conſtitution, and afterwards
'reduced himſelf to eight hours; but that he would
'not adviſe any body to do ſo much; that he thought

'ſix

'ſix hours a day, with attention and conſtancy, was 'ſufficient; that a man muſt uſe his body as he would 'uſe his horſe and his ſtomach, not tire him at once, 'but riſe with an appetite. That his father did order, 'in his will, that he ſhould follow the law; that he 'came from the Univerſity with ſome averſion for 'lawyers, and thought them a barbarous ſort of peo-'ple, unfit for any thing but their own trade; but 'having occaſion to ſpeak about buſineſs with Ser-'jeant Glanvil, he found him of ſuch prudence and 'candor, that from that time he altered his apprehen-'ſions, and betook himſelf to the ſtudy of the law, 'and oft told Serjeant Glanvil, that he was the cauſe 'of his application to the law.

'That conſtantly after meals, every one in his 'turn propoſed a caſe, on which every one argued.

'That he took up a reſolution, which he punctually 'obſerved ever ſince, that he would never more ſee a 'play, having ſpent all his money on them at Oxford, 'and having experienced that it was ſo great an aliena-'tion of his mind from his ſtudies, by the recurring 'of the ſpeeches and actions into his thoughts, as 'well as the loſs of time when he ſaw them; that he 'had often diſputes with Mr. Selden, who was his 'great friend, and uſed to ſay, he found ſo great re-'freſhment by it; but my Lord told him he had ſo 'much knowledge of the inconvenience of them, that 'he would not ſee one for 100l. But he ſaid he was 'not of Mr. Prynne's judgment (which I minded him 'of), for he did not think it unlawful, but very fit for 'gentlemen ſometimes, but not for ſtudents.

'My Lord ſaid at the beginning of his diſcourſe, 'that my friends might expect that I ſhould marry, to 'take off the preſent debt from the eſtate, which elſe 'would increaſe, and then there could be no thoughts 'of a very earneſt proſecution of ſtudy; to which 'Mr. B. ſaid, that my father, when he made this pur-'chaſe that put him into debt, did reſolve to ſell other 'land, and by that might either diſcharge or leſſen it.

'My

'My Lord ſaid, that his rule for his health was, to 'be temperate, and keep himſelf warm. He never 'made breakfaſts, but uſed in the morning to drink a 'glaſs of ſome ſort of ale. That he went to bed at 'nine, and roſe between ſix and ſeven, allowing him-'ſelf a good refreſhment for his ſleep. That the law 'will admit of no rival, nothing to go even with it; 'but that ſometimes, one may for diverſion, read in 'the Latin hiſtorians of England, Hoveden and Ma-'thew Paris, &c. But after it is conquered, it will 'admit of other ſtudies.

'I aſked, whether his Lordſhip read the ſame law 'in the afternoon as he did in the morning. He ſaid, 'No: he read the old books in the morning, and the 'new in the afternoon, becauſe of fitting himſelf for 'converſation. I aſked if he kept conſtantly to one 'court, which he ſaid he did.

'He ſaid, a little law, a good tongue, and a good 'memory, would fit a man for the Chancery; and he 'ſaid it was a golden practice, for the lawyers there 'got more money than in all the other courts in Weſt-'minſter Hall. I told his Lordſhip what my Lord 'Chancellor lately ſaid, that he would reduce the prac-'tice of the court to another method, and not ſuffer 'above one counſel or two at the moſt in one cauſe.

'My Lord ſaid, that 1,000l. a-year was a great deal 'for any common lawyer to get; and Mr. B. ſaid, 'that Mr. Winnington did make 2,000l. per year by 'it. My Lord anſwered, that Mr. W. made great 'advantage by his city practice, but did not believe he 'made ſo much of it. I told his Lordſhip of what 'Mr. W. had ſaid before the council on Wedneſday, 'on the behalf of ſtage-coaches, which were then at-'tempted to be overthrown.

'At our coming away, my Lord did reiterate his 'willingneſs to direct and aſſiſt me; and I did beg of 'his Lordſhip that he would permit me to conſult his 'Lordſhip in the reaſon of any thing that I was igno-'rant of, and that his Lordſhip would be pleaſed to

'examine

'examine me in what I ſhould read, that he might find 'in what meaſure I did apply myſelf to the execution 'of his commands, to which he readily aſſented.'

This great and excellent man, in whom was to be found an aſſemblage of qualities the moſt ſplendid and amiable, whoſe learning and induſtry, piety and virtue, whoſe uprightneſs and independence as a judge, and humility and benevolence as a Chriſtian, have endeared his name in the memory of the wiſe and good, has been the ſubject of malignant ſpleen and ſtudied detraction. The clumſy pen of Roger North, dictated by a ſpirit of jealouſy and ſelfiſhneſs, has made an effort to pluck from the brow of Hale his well-earned wreath of fame. The ſuperiority which his name enjoyed over that of Lord Keeper North, then ſinking into oblivion, provoked this writer to indulge in extraordinary paradoxes, and by laboured miſconſtructions and notorious miſrepreſentations, to place in the ſhade, that character which illumined the age he lived in, and will be revered by the profeſſion and the Chriſtian world, ſo long as indefatigable perſeverance, patient reſearch, ſound interpretation of the laws, an ardent zeal for practical religion, the glory of God, and the happineſs of mankind, ſhall command eſteem and admiration. The rich cluſter of his excellencies has loſt none of its fragrance; time has rather helped to improve it. The meed of praiſe which his contemporaries awarded to his tranſcendant worth has received the indelible ſanction of future times, and his reputation is now fixed on a ſolid and immoveable baſis.

The ſhafts of calumny which North ſhot from his bow, have miſſed their aim. Whilſt the works of Hale will continue to inſtruct and edify an enlightened age, his own are conſigned to the ſhelf of oblivion. Still I deem it my duty to preſent the picture which

which North has drawn, to ſatisfy the curioſity of the reader, and enable him to form his own judgment, leſt an unwillingneſs to produce it might be interpreted to a wiſh of concealing the faults of Hale, or excite a ſuſpicion he was guilty of foibles which ſullied the luſtre of his virtues.

"It was the Lord Keeper North's good fortune to enter his practice in the circuits under this judge, (Hale) whoſe reputation for his great ability in the law, and rigorous juſtice, will be very long lived in Weſtminſter Hall, and the inns of court and Chancery; for there was a conjunction of characters, his and the times conſpiring to aggrandize it. After having improved his knowledge, as a ſtudent, by reporting from him when he ſat as judge of the Common Pleas, and as a practiſer in the northern circuits, it ſo happened that, in the unaccountable rolling of preferments in the law, it became his lordſhip's province to judge of and, for cauſe apparent, to correct the errors of that great man. The truth is, his lordſhip took early into a courſe diametrically oppoſite to that approved by Hale: for the principles of the latter being demagogical, could not allow much favour to one who roſe a monarchiſt declared. Then, after his Lordſhip by being made chief juſtice of the Common-pleas, together with the other judges of that court, and thoſe of the Exchequer, had juriſdiction of errors in judgment given by the court of King's Bench, the ſeparation was wider; and the old judge, by a certain formal overlooking of him, and refining of arguments againſt all he appeared for, affected to ſhew it. And, to ſay truth, that judge had acquired an authority ſo tranſcendant, that his opinions were, by moſt lawyers and others, thought inconteſtable; and he was habituated in not bearing contradiction, and had no value for any perſon whatever that did not ſubſcribe to him. His lordſhip knew him perfectly well, and revered him for his great learning in the hiſtory, law, and records of the Engliſh conſtitution. I have

I have heard him ſay that, while Hale was chief baron of the Exchequer, by means of his great learning, even againſt his inclination, he did the Crown more juſtice, in that court, than many others, in his place, had done with all their good will and leſs knowledge. But his lordſhip knew alſo his foible, which was leaning towards the popular; yet, when he knew the law was for the King (as well he might, being acquainted with all the records of the court, to which men of the law are commonly ſtrangers) he failed not to judge accordingly.

"He was an upright judge, if taken within himſelf; and when he appeared, as he often did, and really was, partial, his inclination or prejudice, inſenſibly to himſelf, drew his judgment aſide. His bias lay ſtrangely for, and againſt, characters and denominations; and, ſometimes, the very habits of perſons. If one party was a courtier, and well dreſſed, and the other a ſort of puritan, with a black cap and plain cloaths, he inſenſibly thought the juſtice of the cauſe with the latter. If the diſſenting, or anti-court party was at the back of a cauſe, he was very ſeldom impartial; and the loyaliſts had always a great diſadvantage before him. And he ever ſat hard upon his lordſhip, in his practice, in cauſes of that nature, as may be obſerved in the caſes of Cuts and Pickering, juſt before, and of Soams and Bernardiſton elſewhere related. It is ſaid he was once caught: a courtier who had a cauſe to be tried before him, got one to go to him, as from the king, to ſpeak for favour to his adverſary, and ſo carried his point; for the chief juſtice could not think any perſon to be in the right, that came ſo unduly recommended.

'He became the cuſhion exceeding well: his manner of hearing patient, his directions pertinent, and his diſcourſes copious, and although he heſitated often fluent. His ſtop for a word, by the produce, alway paid for the delay; and, on ſome occaſions, he woul utter ſentences heroic. One of the bankers, a cou

ti

tier, by name Sir Robert Viner, when he was lord mayor of London, delayed making a return to a mandamus, and the profecutor moved for an attachment againſt him. The Recorder Howel appeared; and, to avert the rule for an attachment, alleged the greatneſs of his magiſtracy, and the diſorder that might happen in the city if the mayor were impriſoned. The Chief Juſtice put his thumbs in his girdle, as his way was, and, 'Tell me of the mayor of London,' ſaid he, 'tell me of the mayor of Queenborough:' but ſtill this was againſt the court. He put on the ſhew of much valour, as if the danger ſeemed to lay on that ſide, from whence either loſs of his place (of which he really made no great account) or ſome more violent, or, as they pretended, arbitrary infliction might fall upon him. Whereas, in truth, that ſide was ſafe, which he muſt needs know, and that all real danger to a judge, was from the impetuous fury of a rabble, who have as little ſenſe and diſcretion as juſtice; and from the houſe of commons, who ſeldom want their wills, and for the moſt part, with the power of the crown, obtain them. Againſt theſe powers he was very fearful; and one, bred as he was, in the rebellious times, when the government at beſt was but rout and riot, either of rabble committees, or ſoldiers, may be allowed to have an idea of their tyranny, and conſequently ſtand in fear of ſuch brutiſh violence and injuſtice as they committed. But it is pleaſant to conſider that this man's not fearing the court was accounted valour; that is, by the populace, who never accounted his fear of themſelves to have been a mere timidity.

"Whatever his courage or fear was, it is moſt certain his vanity was exceſſive; which grew out of a ſelf converſation, and being little abroad. But when he was off from the ſeat of juſtice, and at home, his converſation was with none but flatterers. He was allowed on all hands to be the moſt profound lawyer

I have underſtood it abſolutely neceſſary for me, as (aſſiſted with his Lordſhip's own notes) I have done, to ſhew Hale in a truer light than when the age did not allow ſuch freedom, but accounted it a delirium, or malignancy at leaſt, not to idoliſe him; and thereby to manifeſt that he had frailties, defects, prejudices, and vanities, as well as excellencies; and that he was not a very touchſtone of law, probity, juſtice and public ſpirit, as, in his own time, he was accounted: but that ſome, that did not agree with him, might have thoſe virtues as eminently, in the eye of a juſt obſerver. This is the only conſideration that moved me ſo freely to diſplay the matters aforegoing. Wiſhing only that I had means, or ability, of doing it with more punctuality, I conclude with this obſervation; that it is a general error of the community, learned and unlearned, when a man is truly great in ſome capacities, by the meaſure of them to magnify him in all others, wherein he may be a ſhallow pretender. But it is the office of a juſt writer of the characters of men, to give every one his due, and no more."

It would be an inſult to the memory of Hale, to engage in a formal vindication of his character from theſe charges, which, if true, impeach the credit of all thoſe honourable and concurring teſtimonies which have been collected in the preceding pages. If the allegations of partiality, ſupercilioufneſs, vanity, timidity, the love of flattery, and affected knowledge, which North has brought forward, could obtain belief, his character would be ſhorn of its ſplendor, and it would be in vain to form a true eſtimate of man from the evidence of hiſtorical facts.

The predilection of North for Lord Guilford's memory, which he cheriſhed from gratitude and conſanguinity [1], not only rendered him incompetent to do

[1] Roger North was his Lordship's brother, and spent the active part of his life chiefly with him. In the reign of James II. he was made Attorney-General. He wrote the lives of his three brothers, Francis Lord Guildford, Sir Dudley North, and Dr. John North, master of Trinity College, Cambridge.

juſtice

juſtice to Hale, whoſe principles were ſo oppoſite to his Lordſhip's, but ſufficiently explains the inveteracy of his prejudice, and aſperity of his cenſure.

He has had the dexterity to attempt the proof of his charge of Hale's ignorance of the Latin language, by two inſtances, which he quotes in the ſpirit of an affected pedant and haughty critic. It is true, that Hale has been miſtaken in his conſtruction of the two paſſages, from which, if we were to appreciate his knowledge of the language, he might be entitled to the cenſure paſſed upon him. But in comparing the *whole* tranſlation with the Latin, the real ſcholar will ſpare his *rod* when he finds that theſe are the *only* errors which he committed [1]. The ſenſe of the author throughout is clearly expreſſed, whilſt the conſtruction is cloſely adhered to; and what deſerves to be noticed, Hale has given the true meaning of 'efferre' [2] in another part of the life, where the word occurs.

He profeſſes nothing more than a literal tranſlation, and to convey a clear conception of the author, without making any pretenſions to elegance of ſtyle; and in this he ſucceeds.

North ought to have known, the moſt correct ſcholar pleads guilty to errors which the ſuperficial ſcioliſt may by chance detect.

The brighteſt genius does not always preſerve the ſame unclouded luſtre, nor the moſt acute underſtanding an unerring train of deductions. In the preſent condition of frail humanity, a conſciouſneſs of our own errors ſhould inſpire a ſentiment of humility, and candour towards thoſe of others.

It does not appear that the evening of his days was ſpent without interruptions of his tranquillity, and ſevere trials of a domeſtic nature.

His paternal admonitions, joined to his exemplary purity and habitual piety, were not, it is to be feared, ſucceſsful in reſtraining the irregularities of his

[1] This opinion is the result of a cursory examination.

[2] Cap. 17. l. 4. "Quam extulit." p. 432. l. 28. "he buried."

children, who afforded him, in his declining years, a ſevere exerciſe of reſignation and ſubmiſſion to the righteous diſpenſations of a wiſe Providence.

I am relieved from the taſk of attempting a ſummary of the character of this great man, by one already extant, which for elegance and ſtrength of language, preciſion and correctneſs of deſcription, and liberal and Chriſtian ſentiments, do honour to the ſuperior pen of the learned author [1]; and render any feeble tribute, which it might be in my power to pay to his memory, ſuperfluous and unneceſſary.

"Sir Matthew Hale was of a middle ſtature, ſtrong and well proportioned; his countenance engaging; his converſation affable and entertaining; his elocution eaſy and perſuaſive; his temper warm, open, and generous; affectionate to his family; ſincere to his friends. However engaged in the ſervice of his country, he neglected not the minds and manners of his children. To form their manners and direct their talents; to promote in them the practice of virtue, and of piety; to ſhield them from imprudence, indigence, and misfortune; were the important objects of his inſtruction.

"He ſeemed, from his youth, to have acquainted himſelf with wiſdom and with knowledge; his virtue was not inferior to his learning; and as humility always accompanied the former, modeſty was ever attendant on the latter: and, notwithſtanding the variety of his avocations, he daily preſſed nearer to perfection by a devotion which, though elevated, was rational, and though regular, was warm.

"In his profeſſion, his judgment was clear, his opinion was authority; and notwithſtanding he conſcientiouſly diſcharged the duties of his profeſſion, he at the ſame time diſregarded the profits which reſulted from it.

[1] Charles Runnington, Esq. Sergeant at law, whose affable and communicative disposition is only to be equalled by his solid learning and acknowledged abilities.

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When at the bar, nothing could induce him to proſtitute his abilities; and though, while there, civil war raged with all the violence of contention, yet he not only preſerved his integrity, but lived in eaſe and ſecurity. Actuated by the example of Pomponious Atticus, he walked through times of the moſt turbulent diſtraction uncenſured and unhurt. On the bench he reigned 'a pure intelligencer.' There he was all patience; and though the temper of the times too often made innovations in the profeſſion, yet he never gave way to injuſtice, however formidable. Nothing could alarm, nor any thing allure him. Looking forward to the laſting incorruptible judgment of poſterity, without fear and above temptation, he became a ſhield to his fellow-citizens, and a ſupport to his profeſſion and the ſtate. He held equity to be not only part of the common law, but alſo one of its principal grounds; for which reaſon he reduced it to principles, that it might be ſtudied as a ſcience.

"His abilities were ſo extenſive, that it is almoſt incredible that one man, in no great ſpace of time, ſhould acquire ſuch variety of knowledge; but when we reflect that his parts were lively, and his apprehenſion quick; that his memory was retentive, his judgment ſound; and his application indefatigable: the myſtery is unravelled, and admiration increaſes as incredulity paſſes away.

"With ſuch virtues and ſuch abilities, had he been inſenſible to the applauſe which was juſtly and liberally beſtowed upon him, it might have been adduced either as an inſtance of weakneſs or affectation; on the contrary, he had a becoming ſenſe of the eſteem in which he was held, attended with that ſelf-approbation which ever accompanies the accompliſhment of worthy actions. For this, however, he is repreſented as a vain perſon by Mr. Roger North, who, by endeavouring to depreciate an exalted eſtabliſhed character, has only degraded his own.

"Though

" Though religion be the moſt animating perſuaſion which the mind of man can embrace; though it gives ſtrength to our hopes, and ſtability to our reſolutions; though it ſubdues the inſolence of proſperity, and draws out the ſting of affliction; yet ſuch was the profligacy of the reign of Charles II. ſo far removed from ſound policy and good manners, that at this period of eaſe and politeneſs, religion was not only groſsly neglected, but was daily exhibited as an object for the exerciſe of ridicule. To leſſen the veneration that is due to religion, is a kind of zeal which no epithet is ſufficient to ſtigmatize; it is attacking the ſtrongeſt hold of ſociety, and attempting to deſtroy the firmeſt guard of human ſecurity. So alarming was this advance of impiety to Sir Matthew, that he often deplored it with unaffected ſorrow. Were it neceſſary to evince his abhorrence of it, I might content myſelf with appealing to the bright example of his life; but however ſufficient that might be for the purpoſe, it would yet be doing great injuſtice to his memory not to mention, that he employed ſome time in elegant inſtructive diſquiſitions on the moſt intereſting topics of the Chriſtian religion. Minutely obſervant of the rituals of devotion, he was perhaps ſingular in his deportment; but he for a long time concealed the conſecration of himſelf to the ſtricteſt duties of religion, leſt by ſome adventitious action he ſhould bring piety into diſgrace; in truth, he taught the theory of Chriſtianity by his precepts, and the practice by his example. The faith which influenced his own actions, he religiouſly communicated to others; he improved devotion where he found it, and kindled it where he found it not. May thoſe who ſtudy his writings imitate his life, and thoſe who endeavour after his knowledge, aſpire likewiſe to his piety.

" By being ingenuous, he not only ſecured his independency, but raiſed himſelf above flattery or reproach, above menace or misfortune. Thus the rectitude

rectitude of his conduct, added to the greatneſs of his abilities; and the eaſe of his deportment not only gained him univerſal reſpect, but rendered him more conſpicuous than any one of his contemporaries."

The only diſpoſition I now feel upon the ſubject is, to adopt and conclude with the pious and grateful peroration of the ſermon which the Rev. Mr. Griffiths, the miniſter of Alderly [1], delivered at the funeral of his honoured friend and venerable patron.

'Remember we his eminent virtues and holy 'graces for our imitation; he hath no need of our 'prayers or our praiſes, his praiſe is not of men, but 'of God: though his God had honoured him highly 'in the ſight of all men, learned, good, godly, and 'great men, as unto his ſervant David, 'Made him 'a great name among the great men that are in the 'earth:' 2 Sam. 7. ſo that he will be eminently fa'mous to all poſterity; as one of his honourable 'brethren, a learned judge of the land, ſaith: and, let 'me add, his remembrance will be as the remem'brance of Joſiah, like the compoſition of the per'fume made by the art of the apothecary, ſweet as 'honey in all mouths, 'and melodious in all ears,' as 'muſic at a banquet of wine,' Eccles. lxix. 1.

'This is for our comfort and inſtruction, but adds 'nothing to his happineſs, which is in the higheſt 'perfection, now in the clear and full fruition of the 'chiefeſt good.

'If he deſires any thing, it is our imitation; that 'I am inclined to believe that the ſaints in glory de'ſire the ſalvation of their brethren on earth, and

[1] The family of the Hales have been of ancient ſtanding in this county, and always eſteemed for their probity and charity.

If Gloucestershire has not yielded ſo many eminent men as ſome other counties, yet this great perſon may go for many, *Quantum instar in illo est.*

His memory deſerves the ſame honour as St. Simplicius; for kings and chief magiſtrates throughout the land would honour themſelves by wearing collars of S. S. in memory of the name of St. Simplicius, and in acknowledgment of his eminent juſtice.

Athyn's Hiſt. of Gloucestershire.

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'conſequently that they ſhould be followers of them 'in the way of ſalvation.

'Then remember we, 1. His humility, meekneſs, and 'gentleneſs, and ſelf-denial: in this grace, which in- 'deed is the grace of every grace, he was another 'Moſes.

'2. His patience under all his croſſes and trials, 'whereof he had no ſmall portion, and his long con- 'tinued affliction in this excellent virtue, that he was 'another mirror after holy Job.

'3. His temperance and ſobriety in the midſt of 'a ſottiſh and ſwiniſh generation.

'4. His righteouſneſs and juſtice; he was another 'Ariſtides; to hinder him from adminiſtering juſtice 'impartially, to high, low, rich, and poor, without 'fear or favour, was to ſtop the ſun in the firmament, 'and to divert its courſe.

'5. His piety and holy devotion, in public and 'private; in ſecret, he kept cloſe and conſtant com- 'munion with God.

'6. His charity and mercifulneſs to the poor; his 'bowels of compaſſion were largely drawn out to 'them.

'7. His indefatigable induſtry in all the duties of 'his calling, general and particular; it may be en- 'graven on his tomb:

Hic mortuus requiescit semel
Qui vivus requievit nunquam.

Here being dead he resteth once,
Who being alive rested never.

'Theſe rare virtues and precious graces were deeply 'planted and habituated in his gracious ſoul, even 'from his youth; for his God looked early upon 'him: which was his own expreſſion to myſelf, with 'great humility and thankful reſignation of himſelf, 'and all that he was and had, to his good God, from 'whom he acknowledged he received all. Theſe, I

'ſay,

'ſay, were acted, and ſhined in the whole converſe 'of his life. Let us remember them carefully, and 'conſcionably follow him in theſe holy ſteps; ſo ſhall 'we come to the place and eſtate wherein he is, and 'meet again at the right hand of Jeſus Chriſt, at the 'reſurrection of the juſt, to our mutual joy and re-'joicing, both his and ours; and hear and have that 'joyful and bleſſed doom, 'Come ye bleſſed of my 'Father, inherit the kingdom.'—Which God of his 'infinite mercy and rich grace grant, for Jeſus Chriſt, 'his dear Son's ſake; to whom be glory and majeſty, 'dominion and power, and bleſſing, now and for ever. 'Amen.'

The following Pedigree and particulars of the family have been communicated by John Blagden Hale, Eſq. to whom I embrace this opportunity of returning my grateful acknowledgments, for his polite attention and obliging information.

A TABLE

Four Letters

OF

SIR MATTHEW HALE

TO

HIS CHILDREN.

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LETTER I.

DIRECTIONS

TOUCHING THE

KEEPING OF THE LORD'S-DAY.

CHILDREN,

WHEN I laſt lodged in this place, in my journey up to London, I ſent you from hence divers inſtructions concerning your ſpeech, and how you ſhould manage it, and required you to take copies of it, and to direct your practice according to it. I forgot to enquire of you, whether you had taken copies of it, but I hope you have; and I do again require you to be careful in obſerving thoſe and my former directions given to you, ſome in writing, and many more by word of mouth. I have been careful that my example might be a viſible direction to you; but if that hath been defective, or not ſo full and clear a pattern of your imitation, eſpecially in reſpect of my different condition from yours, yet I am certain that thoſe rules and directions which I have at ſeveral times given you, both in writing, and by word of mouth, have been ſound, and wholeſome, and ſeaſonable; and therefore I do expect that you ſhould remember and practiſe them; and though your young years cannot yet, perchance, ſee the reaſon and uſe of them, yet aſſure yourſelves time and experience will make you know the benefit of them. In advice given to young people, it fares with

with them as it doth with young children that are taught to read, or with young ſchool-boys that learn their grammar rules; they learn their letters, and then they learn to ſpell a ſyllable, and then they learn to put together ſeveral ſyllables to make up a word; or they learn to decline a noun, or to form a verb; and all this while they underſtand not to what end all this trouble is, nor what it means. But when they come to be able to read Engliſh, or to make a piece of Latin, or to conſtrue a Latin author, then they find all theſe rudiments were very neceſſary, and to good purpoſe; for by this means they come to underſtand what others have written, and to know what they knew and wrote, and thereby improve their own knowledge and underſtanding. Juſt ſo it is with young people, in reſpect of counſel and inſtruction, when the father, or the miniſter, or ſome wiſe and underſtanding man doth ſometimes admoniſh, ſometimes chide and reprove, ſometimes inſtruct, they are apt to wonder why ſo much ado, and what they mean, and it is troubleſome and tedious, and ſeems impertinent; and they are ready to ſay within themſelves, that the time were better ſpent in riding, or hunting, or merriment, or gaming; but when they come to riper years, then they begin to find that thoſe inſtructions of the ancients are of excellent uſe to manage the converſation, and to direct the actions, and to avoid inconveniencies, and miſchiefs, and miſcarriages, to which they are ſubject without the help of theſe counſels. And therefore it hath been my practice to give you line upon line, and precept upon precept, to enable you to ſteer and order your courſe of life through an evil and dangerous world; and to require you to be *frequent in reading the Scriptures* with due obſervation and underſtanding, which will make you wiſe for this life, and that which is to come.

I am now come well to F., from whence I wrote to you my former inſtructions concerning your words and ſpeech; and I now intend to write ſomething to

week, which is our Chriſtian Sabbath; that, as our Chriſtian baptiſm ſucceeds the ſacrament of circumciſion, and as our Chriſtian *paſcha*, the ſacrament of the Euchariſt, ſucceeded the Jewiſh paſſover, ſo our Chriſtian Sabbath, the firſt day of the week, ſucceeds the Sabbath of the ſeventh day of the week; and that morality which was by Almighty God, under that covenant, confined to the ſeventh day, is, by the example of Chriſt and his apoſtles, to us Gentiles, transferred to the firſt day of the week; and that which would have been morally a violation of the morality of the Fourth Command under the Jewiſh Sabbath, is a violation of the ſame Fourth Command, if done upon the Chriſtian Sabbath; though the ſtrictneſs and ſeverity enjoined to the Jews be not altogether the ſame that is now required of Chriſtians. And thus you have the reaſon of the obligation upon us Chriſtians to obſerve the firſt day of the week, becauſe, by more than a human inſtitution, the morality of the Fourth Command is transferred to the firſt day of the week, being our Chriſtian Sabbath; and ſo the Fourth Commandment is not abrogated, but only the day changed; and the morality of that Command only tranſlated, not annulled.

II. Concerning the ſecond. It is certain that *what is unlawful to be done* upon another day, is much more unlawful upon this; as exceſs and intemperance, and the like ſinful and unlawful actions. But further, there are many things that may be lawfully done on another day, which may not lawfully be done upon this; and many things that are not only lawful upon another day, but alſo fit and decent, which are yet unfit to be done upon this day. Upon other days we may and muſt employ ourſelves in our ſecular and ordinary callings; we may uſe bodily exerciſes and recreations, as bowling, ſhooting, hunting, and divers other recreations; we may ſtudy human learning: but I hold theſe to be not only unfit, but unlawful

to

to be uſed upon this day, and therefore remember it. Moderate walking may thus far be uſed, ſo far only as it enableth to the more cheerful and lively performance of the duties of this day; and therefore I allow you to walk ſoberly about half an hour after dinner to digeſt your meat, that you be not drowſy, nor indiſpoſed in the religious duties of the day. Merry, but harmleſs talking, or talking about ſports or worldly buſineſs, may be uſed another day, but not upon this. Feaſtings may be ſometimes ſeaſonably uſed upon other days, but are not fit upon this day. Let only ſuch proviſion be made upon this day as may be neceſſary for the feeding of the family and the poor; and therefore I hold that curioſities, baking of meats, and ſuperfluous proviſions upon this day, are to be avoided, as being an unneceſſary breaking of the reſt of this day, and unbeſeeming the ſolemnity of it.

III. 3. *What things may be done* this day, is a queſtion of a great latitude; becauſe circumſtances are many that do much diverſify the actions of men, and many times render them lawful or unlawful, according to thoſe varieties of circumſtances. Therefore I ſhall ſhortly ſet down thoſe things that do not of themſelves directly tend to the ſanctification of this day, that yet may, and ſometimes muſt, be done upon this day; for there were many things that were ſtrictly enjoined to the Jews in their obſervation of their Sabbath, which were ceremonial, and concerned only that ſtate, and do not oblige under the Goſpel, as their dreſſing of meat upon this day was prohibited to them, but not to us; and many more things they did forbear and count unlawful, which in truth were not only not forbidden, but enjoined and commanded, for which our Lord reproves the Phariſees[1], who accounted it a breach of the Sabbath to heal the ſick, or to pluck the ears of corn for the neceſſary relief of hunger. Therefore,

[1] Matth. xii.

1. *Works of abſolute neceſſity* for man or beaſts may be done upon the Lord's-day. And thoſe I call works of neceſſity, which cannot be done before the day, or after, without apparent danger. As, for inſtance, ſtopping of the breach of a ſea-wall; ſupporting a houſe that, upon a ſudden tempeſt or caſualty, is ready to fall; pulling out an ox or other beaſt fallen into a ditch; preventing of a treſpaſs, that by a ſudden accident may be occaſioned to my corn or my neighbour's; ſetting of a broken bone; phyſic to remove an incumbent, or imminent diſeaſe, or pain; milking of cows; feeding of cattle; the neceſſary dreſſing of meat for the family; and many more inſtances of that kind. But yet therein great warineſs and integrity muſt be uſed; for otherwiſe men, under pretence of neceſſity, will take the liberty to do what they pleaſe. Therefore take theſe *cautions concerning neceſſity:*

1. That is not a neceſſity that excuſes a work upon this day, which might have been reaſonably foreſeen and done before the day: as, for inſtance, a man hath a neceſſity to dreſs meat for his family, which he might have provided on the *Saturday*, and neglects it; this neceſſity will not juſtify him in ſending two or three miles to buy meat upon the Lord's-day.

2. That is not a neceſſity which may be forborne to be done without any abſolute deſtruction or loſs of the thing until the morrow. If a rick of hay be on fire, I may endeavour to quench it on the Lord's-day; but if my corn be cut, and lying upon the ground on the *Saturday*, though the weather be rainy, or inclining to wet, I may not make it into cocks, or fetch it home upon the Lord's-day; becauſe poſſibly Almighty God may ſend fair weather to-morrow. And therefore in my forbearance I do two duties under one, viz. obſerve his law, and reſt upon his providence. *** Men make neceſſities many times to ſerve their eaſe, and ſloth, and fancies, when in truth there is none, but the buſineſs may be deferred without any danger. If we would be more faithful in our obedience to God, we ſhould find

find many pretended neceſſities to vaniſh into mere imaginations.

3. *Works of Charity.* Relief of the poor; adminiſtring phyſic upon an apparent neceſſity; viſiting or comforting the afflicted; admoniſhing the diſorderly; perſuading peace between neighbours offended; and endeavouring to compoſe differences which require not much examination, or cannot be deferred without an apparent danger of greater miſchief. Theſe are not only permitted, but commendable, nay commanded upon this day. But if the buſineſs require examination, or may be deferred till to-morrow, then it is beſt to defer ſuch examinations and treaties between offended parties till another day; becauſe they will take away too much of the little precious portion of time of this day, and may be as well done to-morrow.

IV. As for the fourth, What is proper, fit, or neceſſary to be done, in order *to the ſanctification of this day*, I will ſet down particularly; for generals ſeldom produce any great effect, becauſe every man is apt to conſtrue them according to his own mind and liking.

1. I would not have you meddle with any recreations, paſtimes, or ordinary work of your calling from *Saturday night*, at eight of the clock, till *Monday morning*. For though I am not apt to think that *Saturday night* is part of the Chriſtian Sabbath, yet it is fit then to prepare the heart for it.

2. *Riſe* at leaſt three hours before morning ſermon; and when you have made yourſelf fully ready, and waſhed, and fitted yourſelf for the ſolemnity of the day, read two chapters in the Bible, and then go ſolemnly to your *private prayer*, and deſire of God his grace to enable you to ſanctify his day: and, after your private prayer, read another chapter, and let your reading be with attention, obſervation, and uncovered on your head.

3. When you are in the *public worſhip* and *ſervice* of God, be *uncovered* all the while of reading, praying,

ſtatute of 23 Eliz. cap. 1. have inflicted the ſevereſt penalty upon thoſe that go about to withdraw perſons to the Romiſh religion, from the religion eſtabliſhed in England, as any man that reads that ſtatute may find; yet there are ſcattered up and down the world divers factors and agents, that under ſeveral diſguiſes and pretences endeavour the perverting of weak and eaſy perſons. Take heed of all ſuch perſuaders. And that you may know and obſerve the better, you ſhall ever find theſe artifices practiſed by them:

1. They will uſe all flattering applications and inſinuations to be maſter of your humour; and when they have gotten that advantage, they that ſeemed before to ſerve you will then command you.

2. They will uſe all poſſible ſkill to raiſe in you jealouſy and diſlike towards thoſe that may otherwiſe continue, and keep you in the truth; as to raiſe diſlike in you againſt your miniſters; nay, rather than fail, to raiſe diſſention among r[illegible]ns; yea, to caſt jealouſies and ſurmiſes among them, if it may be inſtrumental to corrupt them.

3. They will endeavour to withdraw people from the public miniſtry of God's word, encourage men to ſlight and neglect it; and when they have once effected this, they have a fair opportunity to infuſe their own corrupt principles.

4. They will engage you, by ſome means or other, to them, either by ſome real, but moſt ordinarily by ſome pretended kindneſs or familiarity, that, in a little time, you ſhall not dare to diſpleaſe them; you muſt do and ſpeak what they will have you, becauſe ſome way or other you are entangled with them, or engaged to them; and then they become your governors, and you will not dare to contradict or diſobey them.

Theſe are ſome of thoſe artifices whereby crafty and ſubtle ſeducers gain proſelytes, and bring men under captivity.

Seventhly. Be very careful to moderate your paſſions,

ſions, eſpecially of choler and anger; it inflames the blood, diſorders the brain, and, for the time, exterminates not only religion, but common reaſon; it puts the mind into confuſion, and throws wild-fire into the tongue, whereby men give others advantage againſt them; it renders a man incapable of doing his duty to God, and puts a man upon acts of violence, unrighteouſneſs, and injuſtice to men; therefore keep your paſſions under diſcipline, and under as ſtrict a chain as you would keep an unruly curſt maſtiff. Look to it that you give it not too much line at firſt; but if it hath gotten any fire within you, quench it preſently with conſideration, and let it not break out into paſſionate or unruly words or actions; but, whatever you do, let it not gangrene into malice, envy, or ſpite.

Eighthly. Send your children early to learn their Catechiſm, that they may take in the true principles of religion betimes, which may grow up with them, and habituate them both to the knowledge and practice of it; that they may eſcape the danger of corruption by error or vice, being antecedently ſeaſoned with better principles.

Ninthly. Receive the bleſſings of God with very much thankfulneſs to him; for he is the root and fountain of all the good you do, or can receive.

Tenthly. Bear all afflictions and croſſes patiently, it is your duty, for afflictions come not from the duſt. The great God of heaven and earth is he that ſends theſe meſſengers to you, though poſſibly evil occurrences may be the immediate inſtruments of them. You owe to Almighty God an infinite ſubjection and obedience, and to expoſtulate with him is rebellion; and as it is your duty, ſo it is your wiſdom and your prudence; impatience will not diſcharge your yoke, but it will make it gall the worſe, and ſit the harder.

Eleventhly. Learn not only patience under your afflictions, but alſo profitably to improve them to your ſoul's good; learn by them how vain and unprofitable

things the world, and the pleaſures thereof, are, that a ſharp or a lingering ſickneſs renders utterly taſteleſs. Learn how vain and weak a thing human nature is, which is pulled down to the gates of death, and clothed with rottenneſs and corruption by a little diſorder in the blood, in a nerve, in a vein, in an artery. And ſince we have ſo little hold of a temporal life, which is ſhaken and ſhattered by any ſmall occurrence, accident, or diſtemper; learn to lay hold of eternal life, and of that covenant of peace and ſalvation which Chriſt hath brought for all that believe and obey the Goſpel of peace and ſalvation: there ſhall be no death, no ſickneſs, no pain, no weakneſs, but a ſtate of unchangeable and everlaſting happineſs. And if you thus improve affliction, you are gainers by it; and moſt certain it is, that there is no more probable way under the heaven to be delivered from affliction (if the wiſe God ſee it fit) than thus to improve it: For affliction is a meſſenger, and the rod hath a voice; and that is, to require mankind to be the more patient, and the more humble, and more to acknowledge Almighty God in all our ways. And if men liſten to this voice of the rod, and conform to it, the rod hath done his errand; and either will leave a man, or at leaſt give a man, ſingular comfort, even under the ſharpeſt affliction. And this affliction, which is but for a moment, thus improved, will work for us an exceeding and eternal weight of glory.

Twelfthly. Reverence your miniſter; he is a wiſe and a good man, and one that loves you, and hath a tender care and reſpect for you. Do not grieve him, either by neglect or diſreſpect. Aſſure yourſelves, if there be any perſon that ſets any of you againſt him, or provokes or encourageth any of you to deſpiſe or neglect him, that perſon, whoever he be, loves not you, nor the office he bears. And therefore as the laws of the land, and the Divine Providence, hath placed him at Alderly to have a care of your ſouls, ſo I muſt tell you I do expect you ſhould reverence and

and honour him for his own, for your, and for his office ſake.

And now I have written this long epiſtle to you, to perform that office for me that I ſhould have done in perſon if I could have taken this journey. The epiſtle is long, but it had been longer, if I had had more time. And though, perchance, ſome there may be in the world, that when they hear of it will interpret it to be but the excurſions and moroſe rules of old age, unneceſſary, and ſuch as might have been ſpared; yet I am perſuaded it will find better acceptation thereof from you that are my children. I am now on the ſhady ſide of three-ſcore years. I write to you what you have often heard me in ſubſtance ſpeak. And poſſibly when I ſhall leave this world, you will want ſuch a remembrancer as I have been to you. The words that I now, and at former times have written to you, are words of truth and ſoberneſs; and words and advices that proceed from a heart full of love and affection to you all. If I ſhould ſee you do amiſs in any thing, and ſhould not reprove you; or if I ſhould find you want counſel and direction, and ſhould not give it, I ſhould not perform the truſt of a father; and if you ſhould not thankfully receive it, you would be ſomewhat defective in the duty you owe to God and me, as children. As I have never ſpared my purſe to ſupply you, according to my abilities, and the reaſonableneſs of occaſions, ſo I have never been wanting to you in good and prudent counſels. And the God of heaven give you wiſdom, conſtancy, and fidelity, in the obſervance of them.

I am your ever loving father,

MATTHEW HALE.

MAY 20.

LETTER III.

CONCERNING THEIR SPEECH.

CHILDREN,

I THANK God I came well to Farrington this Saturday, about five of the clock, and becauſe I have ſome leiſure time at my inn, I could not ſpend that time more to my own contentment, and your benefit, than by my letter to give you all good counſel; the ſubject whereof, at this time, ſhall be concerning Speech, becauſe much of the good or evil that befalls perſons, doth occaſionally happen by the well or ill managing of that part of human converſation. I ſhall, as I have leiſure and opportunity at other times, give you my directions concerning other ſubjects.

And herein I ſhall adviſe you, Firſt, how you are to entertain the ſpeeches of others, according to the divers varieties thereof. Secondly, how you are to manage and order your own ſpeech.

I. As concerning the former, obſerve theſe directions: 1. Obſerve and mark as well as you may, what is the temper and diſpoſition of thoſe perſons whoſe ſpeeches you hear, whether they be grave, ſerious, ſober, wiſe, diſcreet perſons; if they be ſuch, their ſpeeches commonly are like themſelves, and will deſerve your attention and obſervation; but if they be light, impertinent, vain, paſſionate perſons, their ſpeech is, for the moſt part, according; and the beſt advantage that you will gain by their ſpeech, is but thereby to learn their diſpoſitions, to diſcern their failings, and to make yourſelves the more cautious both in

in your converſation with them, and in your own ſpeech and deportment; for in the unſeemlineſs of their ſpeech, you may better diſcern and avoid the like in yourſelves.

2. If any perſon, that you do not very well know to be a perſon of truth, ſobriety, and weight, relate ſtrange ſtories, be not too ready or eaſy to believe them, nor report them after him: and yet (unleſs he be one of your familiar acquaintance) be not too forward to contradict him; or, if the neceſſity of the occaſion require you to declare your opinion of what is ſo reported, let it be modeſtly and gently, not too bluntly or coarſely; by this means, on the one ſide, you ſhall avoid being abuſed by your too much credulity; on the other ſide, you ſhall avoid quarrels and diſtaſte.

3. If any man ſpeak any thing to the diſadvantage or reproach of one that is abſent, be not too ready to believe it, only obſerve and remember it, for it may be it is not true, or it is not all true, or ſome other circumſtances were mingled with it, which might give the buſineſs reported a juſtification, or at leaſt an allay, an extenuation, or a reaſonable excuſe. In moſt actions, if that which is bad alone, or ſeems to be ſo, be reported, omitting that which is good, or the circumſtances that accompany it, any action may be eaſily miſrepreſented; be not too haſty, therefore, to believe a reproach till you know the truth, and the whole truth.

4. If any perſon report unto you ſome injury done to you by another, either in words or deeds, do not be over haſty in believing it, nor ſuddenly angry with the perſon ſo accuſed, for poſſibly it may be falſe or miſtaken; and how unſeemly a thing will it be, when your credulity and paſſion ſhall, perchance, carry you, upon a ſuppoſed injury, to do wrong to him that hath done you none; or, at leaſt, when the bottom and truth of the accuſation is known, you will be aſhamed of your paſſion. Believe not a report till the party

accuſed be heard; and, if the report be true, yet be not tranſported either with paſſion, haſty anger or revenge, for that will be your own torment and perturbation. Ever when a perſon is accuſed or reported to have injured you, before you give yourſelf leave to be angry, think with yourſelf, why ſhould I be angry before I am certain it is true? or, if it be true, how can I tell how much I ſhould be angry till I know the whole matter? Though it may be he hath done me wrong, yet poſſibly it is not ſo much as it is repreſented, or it was done by miſtake, or it may be he is ſorry for it. I will not be angry till I know there be cauſe; and if there be cauſe, yet I will not be angry till I know the whole cauſe; for till then (if I muſt be angry at all), yet I know not how much to be angry, it may be it is not worth my anger; or, if it be, it may be it deſerves but a little. This will keep your mind and carriage, upon ſuch occaſions, in a due temper and order; and will diſappoint malicious or officious tale-bearers.

5. If a man, whoſe integrity you do not very well know, makes you great and extraordinary profeſſions and promiſes, give him as kind thanks as may be, but give not much credit to it. Caſt about with yourſelf what may be the reaſon of this wonderful kindneſs, it is twenty to one but you will find ſomething that he aims at beſides kindneſs to you; it may be he hath ſomething to beg or buy of you, or to ſell to you, or ſome ſuch bargain that ſpeaks out at leaſt his own advantage, and not yours; and if he ſerve his turn upon you, or if he be diſappointed, his kindneſs will grow cool.

6. If a man flatter and commend you to your face, or to one that he thinks will tell you of it, it is a thouſand to one either he hath deceived and abuſed you ſome way, or means to do ſo. Remember the fable of the fox commending the ſinging of the crow, when ſhe had ſomewhat in her mouth that the fox liked.

7. If

7. If a perſon be choleric, paſſionate, and give you ill language, remember, 1. Rather to pity him than to be moved into anger and paſſion with him; for moſt certainly that man is in a diſtemper and diſorder; obſerve him calmly, and you ſhall ſee him in ſo much perturbation and diſturbance, that you will eaſily believe he is not a pattern to be imitated by you, and therefore return not choler, nor anger for angry words; for you do but put yourſelf into a kind of frenzy becauſe you ſee him ſo. 2. Be ſure you return not railing, reproaching, or reviling for reviling, for it doth but kindle more heat, and you will find ſilence, or at leaſt very gentle words, the moſt exquiſite revenge of reproaches that can be; for either it will cure the diſtemper in the other, and make him ſee and be ſorry for his paſſion, or it will torment him with more perturbation and diſturbance. But, howſoever, it keeps your innocence, gives you deſerved reputation of wiſdom and moderation, and keeps up the ſerenity and compoſure of your mind; whereas paſſion and anger do make a man unfit for any thing that becomes him as a man, or as a Chriſtian.

8. Some men are excellent in knowledge of huſbandry, ſome of planting, ſome of gardening, ſome in mathematics, ſome in one kind, ſome in another. In all your converſation learn, as near as you can, wherein the ſkill and excellence of any perſon lies, and put him upon talk of that ſubject, and obſerve it, and keep it in memory or writing; by this means you will glean up the worth and excellence of every perſon you meet with, and at an eaſy rate put together that which may be for your uſe upon all occaſions.

9. Converſe not with a liar or a ſwearer, or a man of obſcene or wanton language; for either he will corrupt you, or at leaſt it will hazard your reputation to be one of the like making; and if it doth neither, yet will fill your memory with ſuch diſcourſes that will be troubleſome to you in aftertime; and the returns of

the remembrance of the paſſages which you long ſince heard of this nature, will haunt you when your thoughts ſhould be better employed.

II. Now, as concerning your own ſpeech, and how you are to manage it, ſomething may be collected out of what goes before, but I ſhall add ſomething elſe.

1. Let your ſpeech be true, never ſpeak any thing for a truth which you know or believe to be falſe; it is a great ſin againſt God, that gave you a tongue to ſpeak your mind, and not to ſpeak a lie; it is a great offence againſt humanity itſelf; for where there is no truth, there can be no ſafe ſociety between man and man; and it is an injury to the ſpeaker, for beſides the baſe diſreputation it caſts upon him, it doth in time bring a man to that baſeneſs of mind, that he can ſcarce tell how to tell truth, or to avoid lying, even when he hath no colour of neceſſity for it; and in time he comes to ſuch a paſs, that as another man cannot believe he tells a truth, ſo he himſelf ſcarce knows when he tells a lie. And obſerve it, a lie ever returns with diſcovery and ſhame at the laſt.

2. As you muſt be careful not to lie, ſo you muſt avoid coming near it; you muſt not equivocate; you muſt not ſpeak that abſolutely which you have but by hear-ſay, or relation; you muſt not ſpeak that as upon knowledge, which you have but by conjecture or opinion only.

3. Let your words be few, eſpecially when your betters, or ſtrangers, or men of more experience, or underſtanding, are in place, for you do yourſelf at once two great miſchiefs: 1. You betray and diſcover your own weakneſs and folly. 2. You rob yourſelf of that opportunity which you might otherwiſe have to gain knowledge, wiſdom, and experience, by hearing thoſe that you ſilence by your impertinent talking.

4. Be not over earneſt, loud, or violent in talking, for it is unſeemly, and earneſt, and loud talking, makes you overſhoot and loſe your buſineſs, when you

you ſhould be conſidering and pondering your thoughts, and how to expreſs them ſignificantly to the purpoſe; you are ſtriving to keep your tongue going, and to ſilence an opponent, not with reaſon, but with noiſe.

5. Be careful not to interrupt another in his talk; hear him out, you will underſtand him the better, and be able to give him the better anſwer; it may be, if you will give him leave, he will ſay ſomewhat more than you have yet heard, or well underſtood, or that which you did not expect.

6. Always before you ſpeak, eſpecially where the buſineſs is of moment, conſider before-hand, weigh the ſenſe of your mind which you intend to utter; think upon the expreſſions you intend to uſe, that they be ſignificant, pertinent, and inoffenſive; and whereas it is the ordinary courſe of inconſiderate perſons to ſpeak their words, and then to think, or not to think till they ſpeak; think firſt and ſpeak after, if it be in any matter of moment or ſerioufneſs.

7. Be willing to ſpeak well of the abſent, if you do not know they deſerve ill; by this means you ſhall make yourſelf many friends; and ſometimes an undeſerved commendation is not loſt to the party to whom it is given. I have known ſome men that have met with an undeſerved commendation, out of ſhame of being worſe than they have been reported, ſecretly to take up practices anſwerable to their commendation, and ſo to make themſelves as good as they are reported.

8. Be ſure you give not an ill report to any that you are not ſure deſerves it. And, in moſt caſes, though a man deſerves ill, yet you ſhould be ſparing to report him ſo. In ſome caſes, indeed, you are bound in honeſty and juſtice to give that account concerning the demerit or default of a perſon that he deſerves; as namely, when you are called to give teſtimony for the ending of a controverſy, or when the concealing of it may harden and encourage a perſon in an evil way, or bring another into danger; in ſuch caſes the very duty of charity binds you to ſpeak your knowledge,

knowledge, nay your probable fear or ſuſpicion of ſuch a perſon, ſo it be done for prevention of greater inconvenience, and in love, and eſpecially if the diſcovery be made to a perſon that hath a ſuperintendence, care, or authority over the perſon complained of; for this is an act of love and duty. But for any perſon maliciouſly, buſily, and with intent to ſcandalize another, to be whiſpering tales and ſtories to the prejudice of another, this is a fault. If you know any good of any perſon, ſpeak it as you have opportunity; if you know any evil, ſpeak it, if it be really and prudently done for the good of him, and the ſafety of others; otherwiſe rather chooſe to ſay nothing than to ſay any thing reproachfully, maliciouſly, or officiouſly to his prejudice.

9. Avoid ſwearing in your ordinary communication, unleſs called to it by the magiſtrate; and not only the groſſer oaths, but the leſſer; and not only oaths, but imprecations, earneſt and deep proteſtations. As you have the commendable example of good men to juſtify a ſolemn oath before a magiſtrate, ſo you have the precept of our Saviour forbidding it otherwiſe.

10. Avoid ſcoffing, and bitter, and biting jeering, and jeſting, eſpecially at your friend's condition, credit, deformity, or natural defects of any perſon, for theſe leave a deep impreſſion, and are a moſt apparent injuſtice; for were you ſo uſed, you would take it inwardly amiſs, and many time ſuch an injury coſts a man dear, when he little thinks of it.

11. Be very careful that you give no reproachful, bitter, menacing, or ſpiteful words to any perſon; nay, not to ſervants, or other perſons of an inferior condition, and that upon theſe conſiderations: 1. There is not the meaneſt perſon but you may ſtand in need of him in one kind, or at ſome time or another; good words make friends, bad words make enemies; it is the beſt prudence in the world to make as many friends as honeſtly as you can, eſpecially when it may be done at ſo eaſy a rate as a good word; and it is the greateſt folly

folly that can be to make an enemy by ill words, which do not at all any good to the party that uſeth them. 2. Ill words provoke ill words again; and commonly ſuch ill words as are gained by ſuch a provocation, eſpecially of an inferior, ſtick cloſer, and wound deeper, than ſuch as come unprovoked by ill language, or from an equal. 3. Where faults are committed, they may, and by a ſuperior muſt, be reproved; but let it be done without reproaches, or bitterneſs, otherwiſe it loſeth its due end and uſe; and, inſtead of reforming the offence, exaſperates the offender, and makes him worſe, and gives him the cudgel to ſtrike again, becauſe it diſcovers your own weakneſs when you are reprehending another, and lays you juſtly open to his reproof, and makes your own but ſcorned and diſeſteemed. I preſs this the rather, becauſe moſt ordinarily ill language is the folly of children, and of weak and paſſionate people.

12. If there be occaſion for you to ſpeak in any company, always be careful, if you ſpeak at all, to ſpeak lateſt, eſpecially if ſtrangers are in company; for by this means you will have the advantage of knowing the ſenſe, judgment, temper, and relations of others, which may be a great light and help to you in ordering your ſpeech; and you will better know the inclination of the company, and ſpeak with more advantage and acceptation, and with more ſecurity againſt giving offence.

13. Be careful that you commend not yourſelves, it is the moſt unuſeful and ungrateful thing that can be. You ſhould avoid flattery from others, but eſpecially decline flattering of yourſelves; it is a ſign your reputation is ſmall and ſinking, if your own tongues muſt be your flatterers or commenders; and it is a fulſome and unpleaſing thing for others to hear it.

14. Abhor all foul, unclean, and obſcene ſpeeches, it is a ſign that the heart is corrupt, and ſuch kind of ſpeeches will make it worſe; it will taint and corrupt yourſelves

yourſelves and thoſe that hear it, and bring diſreputation to thoſe that uſe it.

15. Never uſe any prophane ſpeeches, nor make jeſts of Scripture expreſſions; when you uſe the names of God or of Chriſt, or any paſſages or words of the Holy Scripture, uſe them with reverence and ſeriouſneſs, and not lightly, vainly, or ſcurrilouſly, for it is taking of the Name of God in vain.

16. If you hear of any unſeemly expreſſions uſed in religious exerciſes, you muſt be careful to forget, and not to publiſh them; or, if you at all mention them, let it be with pity and ſorrow, not with deriſion or reproach.

17. Do not upbraid any, or deride any man for a pious, ſtrict, or religious converſation; for, if he be ſincere, you diſhonour God and injure him; if he be an hypocrite, yet it is more than you know; or, if you know him to be ſuch, yet his external piety and ſtrictneſs is not his fault, but his diſſimulation and hypocriſy; and though his hypocriſy be to be deteſted, his external piety and religion is to be commended, not derided.

18. Have as little converſation as is poſſible with obſtinate heretics, or perſons obſtinately perverted in matters of religion; as Papiſts, Quakers, Anabaptiſts, Antinomians, Enthuſiaſts, and the like; but eſpecially converſe not with them in matters of religion, for, inſtead of converting them by your perſuaſions to the truth, you ſhall but harden them the more, and endanger yourſelf. They are to be dealt withal in theſe matters, only by perſons of great abilities; for a perverted, corrupted mind, and obſtinate ſpirit, carries in it a contagion, as infectious and much more dangerous than the plague in the body, where their opinions meet with a young and weak opponent.

And thus, Children, as the time and my remembrance would give me leave, I have ſet down ſome obſervations concerning this ſubject, for your direction and

and practice; what is wanting you may abundantly ſupply by reading the wiſe counſels of Solomon, in his book of Proverbs. Read theſe my directions often, think of them ſeriouſly, and practiſe them diligently; though they ſeem but dry and ordinary things, yet you will find them uſeful in your converſation, which will be every day more evident unto you, as your judgment, underſtanding, and experience increaſe.

I have but little more to write at this time, but to wiſh and command you to remember my former counſels that I have often given you; begin and end the day with private prayers to God upon your knees; read the Scriptures often and ſeriouſly; be attentive to the public worſhip of God in the church; keep yourſelves ſtill in ſome good employment, for idleneſs is the devil's opportunity, and the nurſery of vain and ſinful thoughts, which corrupt the mind, and diſorder the life. Let the Girls take care of ſuch buſineſs of my family as is proper for them, and their recreations may be walking abroad in the fields in fair or froſty mornings; ſome work with their needle, reading of hiſtory or herbals, ſetting of flowers or herbs, practiſing their muſic, and ſuch innocent and harmleſs exerciſes. Let the Boys be diligent at their books; and when they have performed their taſks, I do not deny them ſuch recreations as may be healthy, ſafe, and harmleſs. Be you all kind and loving one to another, honouring your miniſter, not bitter or harſh to my ſervants; be reſpectful to all, bear my abſence patiently, cheerfully, and faithfully; do all things as if I were preſent among you, and beheld you, for you have a greater Father than I am, that always, and in all places, beholds you, and knows your hearts and thoughts. Study to requite the love, and care, and expence of your father for you, with dutifulneſs, obſervance, and obedience to him; and account it an honour that God hath given you an opportunity, in my abſence, by your care, faithfulneſs, and induſtry, to pay ſome part of that debt, that by the laws of nature and gratitude

you

you owe unto me. Be frugal in my family, but let [illegible]t there be no want; provide conveniently for the poor [illegible]r that come to my door. And I pray God to fill all [illegible]ll your hearts with his grace, fear, and love, and to let [illegible]t you see the advantage and comfort of serving him; [illegible]; and that his blessing, and presence, and comfort, and [illegible]d direction, and providence, be with you, and over you [illegible] all.

I am your ever loving father,

MATTHEW HALE.

[illegible]TTER

LETTER IV.

TO

ONE OF HIS GRANDSONS,

AFTER HIS RECOVERY FROM THE SMALL-POX.

SON ——

ALTHOUGH, by reaſon of the contagiouſneſs of your diſeaſe, and the many dependents I have upon me, I thought it not convenient to come unto you during your ſickneſs, yet I have not been wanting in my earneſt prayers to Almighty God for you, nor in uſing the beſt means I could for your recovery.

It hath pleaſed God to hear my prayers for you, and above means and hopes now to reſtore you to a competent degree of health, for which I return unto him my humble and hearty thanks; and now you are almoſt ready to come abroad again, therefore I have thought fit to write this little book to you for theſe reaſons:

1. Becauſe it is not yet ſeaſonable for you to come to me, in reſpect of theſe ſame reaſons above-mentioned, which hitherto have reſtrained my coming to you.

2. Becauſe, at your coming abroad, you will be ſubject to temptations, by young and inconſiderate company, which, inſtead of ſerious thankfulneſs to God for his mercy to you, might perchance perſuade you to a vain and light jollity. And I thought fit to ſend you theſe lines to prevent ſuch inconſiderate impreſſions,

preſſions, and to meet you juſt at your coming abroad, to ſeaſon you with more wiſe and ſerious principles.

3. Becauſe you are even now come out of a great and ſore viſitation, and therefore, in all probability, in the fitteſt temper to receive the impreſſions of a ſerious epiſtle from your father.

And I have choſen to put it into this little volume, becauſe it is ſomewhat too long for a letter, and may be better preſerved for your future uſe and memory.

God Almighty hath brought you to the very gates of death, and ſhewed you the terror and danger of it; and, after that he had ſhewn you this ſpectacle of your own mortality, he hath marvellouſly reſcued and delivered you from that danger, and given you life, even from the dead, ſo that you are as a man new born into the world, or returned to life again, which now you ſeem, as it were, to begin. You have paſſed through thoſe two great diſpenſations of the Divine Providence, thoſe two great experiments, that God is pleaſed ſometimes to uſe towards the children of men; namely, correction and deliverance, his rod and ſtaff. And therefore, in all reaſonable conjecture, this is the moſt ſeaſonable time to give you a lecture upon both; and thoſe admonitions which may be, render the one and the other profitable unto you. And this I ſhall endeavour to do in theſe following lines:

Firſt. You ſhall not need to fear that I intend to upbraid you with the errors of your youth, or to expoſtulate with you touching them; for I do aſſure you I do from my heart forgive you all your follies and miſcarriages. And I do aſſure myſelf that you have repented of them, and reſolved againſt them for the time to come; and that thereupon God Almighty hath alſo fully forgiven what is paſt: and this is a great aſſurance thereof to me, in that he hath ſo wonderfully reſtored you, and given you, as it were, a new life, wherein you may obey and ſerve him better than ever you yet did. And therefore if in this letter there be any touches concerning former vanities, aſſure yourſelf they

they are not angry repetitions, but only neceſſary cautions for your future ordering of your life.

The buſineſs of theſe papers is principally to commend unto you two general remembrances, and certain reſults and collections that ariſe from them; they are all ſeaſonable for your preſent condition, and will be of ſingular uſe and benefit to you in the whole enſuing courſe of your life.

Firſt. I would have you, as long as you live, remember your late ſickneſs in all its circumſtances, and theſe plain and profitable inferences and advices that ariſe from it.

Secondly. I would have you remember, as long as you live, your great deliverance, and the ſeveral circumſtances of it, and thoſe neceſſary duties that are incumbent upon you in relation thereunto.

It is evident to daily experience, that while afflictions are upon us, and while deliverances are freſh, they commonly have ſome good effect upon us; but as the iron is no ſooner out of the fire, but it quickly returns to its old coldneſs and hardneſs, ſo when the affliction or deliverance is paſt, we uſually forget them, count them common things, attribute them to means and ſecond cauſes: and ſo the good that mankind ſhould gather from them vaniſhes, and men grow quickly to be but what they were before they came; their ſick-bed promiſes are forgot when the ſickneſs is over.

And therefore I ſhall give you an account of your ſickneſs and of your recovery; and let them never be forgotten by you. As often as thoſe ſpots and marks in your face are reflected to your view from the glaſs, as often as this paper comes in your ſight; nay, as often as you open your eyes from ſleep, which were once cloſed, and likely never to open again, ſo often, and more often, remember your ſickneſs and your recovery, and the admonitions that this paper lends you from the conſideration of both.

Firſt, therefore, touching your late ſickneſs, I would have you remember theſe particulars: 1. The diſeaſe itſelf, in its own nature, is now become ordinarily very mortal, eſpecially to thoſe of your age. Look upon even the laſt year's general bill of mortality, you will find near two thouſand dead of that diſeaſe the laſt year; and had not God been very merciful to you, you might have been one of that number, with as great likelihood as any of them that died of that diſeaſe. 2. It was a contagious diſeaſe that ſecluded the acceſs of your neareſt relations. 3. Your ſickneſs ſurprized you upon a ſudden, when you ſeemed to be in your full ſtrength. 4. Your ſickneſs rendered you noiſome to yourſelf, and all that were about you; and a ſpectacle full of deformity, by the exceſs of your diſeaſe beyond moſt that are ſick thereof. 5. It was a fierce and violent ſickneſs; it did not only take away the common ſupplies of nature, as digeſtion, ſleep, ſtrength, but it took away your memory, your underſtanding, and the very ſenſe of your own condition, or of what might be conducible to your good. All that you could do, was only to make your condition more deſperate, in caſe they that were about you had not prevented it, and taken more care for you than you did or could for yourſelf. 6. Your ſickneſs was deſperate, inſomuch that your ſymptoms, and the violence of your diſtemper, were without example; and you were in the very next degree to abſolute rottenneſs, putrefaction, and death itſelf.

Look upon the foregoing deſcription, and remember that ſuch was your condition; you were as ſad a picture of mortality and corruption, as any thing but death itſelf could make: remember it; and remember alſo theſe enſuing inſtructions, that may make that remembrance profitable and uſeful to you.

Firſt. Remember, that 'affliction cometh not forth 'of the duſt, nor doth trouble ſpring out of the ground[1];'

[1] Job v. 6.

but

but this terrible viſitation was ſent to you from the wiſe over-ruling providence of God: it is he that bringeth down to the grave, and bringeth up again. It is true that this diſeaſe may ſeem common; but you may and muſt know that there was more than the common hand of God in ſending it upon you in ſuch a manner, and ſuch a meaſure, and at ſuch a ſeaſon, when you were grown up to a competent age and degree of underſtanding to make a due uſe of it, that you might ſee his juſtice in afflicting you, and his goodneſs in delivering you from ſuch a danger.

Secondly. Remember that Almighty God is of moſt infinite wiſdom, juſtice, and mercy; he hath excellent ends in all his diſpenſations of his providence; he never ſends an affliction, but it brings a meſſage with it; his rod has a voice, a voice commanding us to ſearch and try our ways, and to examine ourſelves whether there hath not been ſome great ſin againſt him, or neglect of duty to him; a voice commanding us to repent of what is amiſs, to humble ourſelves under his mighty hand, to turn to him that ſtriketh us, to ſeek to him by prayer for deliverance, to depend upon him by faith; in his mercy and power to amend what is amiſs, to be more watchful, circumſpect, and obedient to him in the future courſe of our lives, to fear to offend him. And if a man hear this voice, God hath his end of mercy and goodneſs, and man hath the fruit, benefit, and advantage of his affliction, and commonly a comfortable iſſue of it. Read often and attentively the 33d chapter of Job, from the beginning to the end.

Thirdly. Remember how uncertain and frail a creature man is, even in his ſeeming ſtrongeſt age and conſtitution of health; even then a peſtilential air, ſome evil humour in his blood, ſome obſtruction, it may be, of a little vein or artery, a little meat ill digeſted, and a thouſand ſmall occurrences may, upon a ſudden, without any conſiderable warning, plunge a man into a deſperate and mortal ſickneſs, and bring a

man to the grave. Remember this terrible ſickneſs ſeized upon you ſuddenly, pulled down your ſtrength quickly, and brought you to the very brink of the grave. And though God hath recovered you, you know not how ſoon you may be brought into the like condition.

Fourthly. Remember, therefore, that you make and keep your peace with God, and walk in his fear in the days of health, eſpecially after ſo great a deliverance, and that for very many reaſons: 1. You know not whether you may not be overtaken with ſudden death, and then it will be impoſſible for you to begin that work. 2. If you have ſickneſs to give you warning of the approach of death, yet you know not whether that ſickneſs may not ſuddenly take away your ſenſes, memory, or underſtanding, whereby you may be diſabled to make your peace with God, or to exerciſe any ſerious thoughts concerning it. 3. But if that ſickneſs give you fair warning, and take not away your underſtanding, yet your own experience cannot chooſe but let you know that pain, and weakneſs, and diſtraction of mind, and impatience, and unquietneſs, are the common attendants of a ſick-bed, and render that ſeaſon at leaſt very difficult then to begin that greateſt, and ſolemneſt, and moſt important buſineſs of a man's life. 4. But if your ſickneſs be not ſo ſharp but that it leaves you patience and attention of mind for that great buſineſs, how do you know whether your heart ſhall be inclined to it? Repentance and converſion to God is his gift, though it muſt be our endeavour. And though the merciful God never refuſeth a repenting returning offender, yet how can a man that all the time of his health hath neglected Almighty God, refuſed his invitations, and ſerved his luſts and his ſin, expect reaſonably that God, in the time of ſickneſs, when the man can ſerve his ſins no longer, will give him the grace of repentance?

Whatever you do, therefore, be ſure you make your peace with God, and keep it in the days of your health, eſpecially

eſpecially after ſo great a deliverance from ſo deſperate a ſickneſs.

Fifthly. Remember that your condition is never ſo low but that God hath power to deliver you, and therefore truſt in him; but remember withal, that your condition is never ſafe and ſecure, but you are within the reach of his power to bring you down. You are now, by the mercy of God, recovered from a terrible ſickneſs, think not with yourſelf that your turn is now ſerved, and that you ſhall have no more need of him, and therefore that you may live as you liſt, and never regard your duty to him; deceive not yourſelf herein, remember that this ſickneſs within two or three days brought you upon your knees, even from a ſeeming ſtate of health. The caſe is the ſame ſtill, nay much worſe, if this affliction make you not better. Almighty God called you to love, and ſerve, and obey him, by the ſtill voice of his word, by the perſuaſion of your friends, by the advices and reproofs of your father; and, when theſe were not ſo effectual (as I know you now wiſh they had been), he ſent a meſſenger that ſpake louder, that would be heard, even this terrible ſickneſs; and moſt certainly, if you have heard the voice of this rod (as I am hopeful you have), and thereupon entirely turn to your duty to God in all ſincerity and obedience, it is the happieſt providence that ever befell you; and you will, upon ſound conviction, conclude with the Prophet, 'It was good for me 'that I was afflicted.' But, on the other ſide, if, notwithſtanding this voice of the rod, you ſhall, after your recovery, turn again to folly, and vanity, and exceſs, and harden yourſelf againſt this meſſenger, know for certain you are within the reach of the Divine Juſtice and Power: 'And if you walk contrary to him, he 'will walk contrary to you, and puniſh you yet ſeven 'times for your ſins [1].' I therefore give you that counſel that our Lord gave to him that he had healed: 'Behold thou art made whole, go thy way and ſin no

[1] Levit. xxvi. 24.

'more, leſt a worſe thing befall thee.' There is no conteſting with Almighty God; he is ready and eaſy to be reconciled to the worſt of men, upon humiliation and true repentance; but he is not to be maſtered or conquered by obſtinacy and oppoſition: 'Who hath 'hardened himſelf againſt him and proſpered[1]?'

Sixthly. I would have you remember that ſickneſs, as well as death, doth undeceive mankind, and ſhews them where their true wiſdom lies. When a young man, eſpecially, is in the full career of his vanity and pleaſures, he thinks that religion and the fear of God, and walking according to his Word, and the ſerious practice of duties of religion towards God, prayer unto him, making our peace with him, are pitiful, low, fooliſh, and inconſiderable matters; and that thoſe that practiſe them are a ſort of brain-ſick, melancholy, unintelligent perſons, that want wit or breeding, and underſtand not themſelves or the world; that they are mere empty fancies and imaginations, whimſies, Puritaniſm, and I know not what elſe; but, on the other ſide, they think they are the brave men that live ſplendidly, deny themſelves no pleaſure, can drink, and roar, and whore, and debauch, and wear the neweſt faſhions; it may be, this gallant or wiſe man comes to be taken with a fit of ſickneſs that tells him he muſt die, death is at the door, his glaſs is almoſt out, and but a few ſands left in it; and then the man becomes quite of another judgment, he cries out of his former fooliſhneſs, he finds his pleaſures, and intemperance, and exceſs, are not only perfect follies, but madneſs, vexation, torment; and religion and prayer to God, and devotion and peace with God, they are now in requeſt. And now nothing but declamations againſt thoſe courſes, which in his health he valued as the only wiſdom; and nothing but promiſes of amendment, and reformation of life and devotion to God; ſo ſickneſs hath undeceived the man, and given him a true and rectified judgment concerning wiſdom and folly, quite

[1] Job ix. 4.

contrary

contrary to what he had before; therefore I would have you to recollect yourself (and if the violence of your diſeaſe left you at any time the uſe of your reaſon), bethink yourſelf what opinion you then had of intemperance, waſting of time, unlawful luſt, or any of thoſe ſins that formerly pleaſed you in your health, whether they did not appear to you in your ſickneſs very vain, fooliſh, vexing things, ſuch as you wiſhed never to have been committed; and, on the other ſide, what opinion you had in your ſickneſs touching piety towards God, hearing of his Word, calling upon his Name, redeeming of time, modeſty, temperance. Whether thoſe actions of your life paſt, that ſavoured of theſe, were not comfortable and contenting to you in your ſickneſs; whether your purpoſes and promiſes, and reſolutions of your ſick-bed, were not full of ſuch thoughts as theſe: If it pleaſe God to recover me, I will never be ſuch a fool as I have been; I will never drink to exceſs, miſpend my time; I will never keep ſuch evil company as I have done; I will be more devout towards God, more obedient to his Word, more obſervant of good counſel, and the like. And, if you find it to be ſo, I muſt deſire you to remember, that affliction is the ſchool of wiſdom, it rectifies mens' judgments; and I muſt again deſire you to keep your judgment right ſtill, and let not the recovery of your health become the loſs of your wits; but in your health retain that wiſdom your ſickneſs taught you, and practiſe what you then promiſed: 'Remember he is the 'wiſeſt man that provides for his latter end [1].'

Seventhly. Remember, by your former ſickneſs, how pitiful an inconſiderable thing the body of man is; how ſoon is the ſtrength of it turned to faintneſs and weakneſs; the beauty of it to uglineſs and deformity; the conſiſtency of it to putrefaction and rottenneſs; and then remember how fooliſh a thing it is to be proud of ſuch a carcaſe, to ſpend all, or the greateſt part of our time in trimming and adorning it;

[1] Deut. xxxii. 29.

in ſtudying new faſhions and new devices to ſet it out; in ſpending our time and proviſions in pampering it; in pleaſing the appetite; and yet this is the chief buſineſs of moſt young men of this age. Learn, therefore, humility and lowlineſs; learn to furniſh thy noble and immortal part, thy ſoul, with religion, grace, knowledge, virtue, goodneſs, for that will retain it to eternity. How miſerable is that man's condition, that whilſt ſickneſs hath made his body a deformed, weak, loathſome thing, ſin hath made his ſoul as ugly and deformed. The grave will heal or cover the deformity of the former; but the ſoul will carry its ulcers and deformity (without repentance) into the next world. Learn and remember, therefore, to have thy greateſt care for thy nobleſt part, furniſh it with piety, grace, knowledge, the fear and love of God, faith in Chriſt. And as for thy body uſe it decently, ſoberly, and comely, that it may be a fit inſtrument for thy ſoul to uſe in this life; but be not proud of it, nor make it thy chiefeſt care and buſineſs to adorn, much leſs defile it.

Eighthly. Remember to avoid intemperance and ſinful luſts. It is true ſickneſs and diſeaſes, and finally death, are, by the laws and conſtitutions of our nature, incident to all mankind; but intemperance, exceſs of eating and drinking, drunkenneſs, whoring, uncleanneſs, and diſorder, bring more diſeaſes, eſpecially upon young men, and deſtroy more young, ſtrong, healthy men, than the plague, or other natural or accidental diſtempers. They weaken the brain, corrupt the blood, decay and diſtemper the ſpirit, diſorder and putrefy the humours, and make the body a very bag full of putrefaction. Some diſeaſes are, as it were, ſpecifical, and appropriate to theſe vices; other diſeaſes are commonly occaſioned by them, by their inflammation and putrefaction of the blood and humours. And all diſeaſes, even thoſe that are epidemical, natural, or caſual, yet are rendered, by thoſe vices, far more ſharp, laſting, malignant, and incurable, by that ſtock of corrupted

rupted matter; they lodge in the body to feed thoſe diſeaſes, and that impotency that theſe vices bring upon nature to reſiſt them; therefore if you ever expect to have as well a ſound body as a ſound mind, carefully avoid intemperance and debauchery. The moſt temperate and ſober perſons are ſubject to ſickneſs, weakneſs, and diſeaſes; but the intemperate can never be long without them.

And thus I have done with the proſpect of your diſeaſe; and at leaſt many of theſe profitable uſes you may gather from the remembrance of it.

II. I ſhall now, in the ſecond place, put you in remembrance of your deliverance, touching which you muſt remember: 1. That it was a great, eminent, and extraordinary deliverance; you need no other evidence of it, than by looking back upon the greatneſs and ſeverity of your diſeaſe before-mentioned. 2. It was a deliverance by the immediate power and mercy of that God that ſent you the viſitation.

Una eademque manus vulnus opemque tulit [1]. If you had been delivered by the immediate efficacy of means, yet you are blind if you ſee not that the efficacy of means depends upon the providence of God; it is he that provides it, and that makes means effectual. But in this deliverance God hath pleaſed to hedge up, as it were, your way from attributing it to means, and hath given you an indication that it was done by his own immediate power, and that he delivered you above and beyond means. It is true you had a very able and careful phyſician, and very great attendance and care was uſed about you. But when your phyſician, and all that were about you, began to deſpair of your recovery, when means proved ineffectual, when even ſtrength of nature was exhauſted and baffled by your diſeaſe, God Almighty, upon a ſudden, and beyond expectation, relieved you, and, as it were, by his own hand brought you back from the very threſhold of the grave. And this he did, that you and all about you,

[1] The ſame arm inflicted the wound and adminiſtered the cure.

and

and all your relations, might take notice of it, that it was he that did it.

And thus Almighty God hath exerciſed towards you two great experiments, the firſt of his ſeverity, the ſecond of his mercy. And as your ſickneſs and rod had its voice (a loud and ſharp voice), ſo your recovery and deliverance hath its voice alſo; a ſweet, gentle, and (I hope) effectual voice; and I will, as ſhortly as I can, tell you what it is.

Firſt. Remember this benefit; remember it was reached out unto you, from the mere power, goodneſs, and mercy of God. Remember evermore in your heart and ſoul to be thankful to him for it; remember, as long as you live, upon all occaſions, to acknowledge it; daily to return upon your knees humble thanks for it to him that had regard to you, and remembered you in your low eſtate; to him that forgave your iniquities, and healed your diſeaſe; to him that did this for you when all means failed; that did it for you when you had not the underſtanding to call upon him for it; to him that did it for you that deſerved it not; for you that had provoked him, and neglected him in the time of your health. This God it was that delivered you. Read often the 103d Pſalm attentively, and apply it to your own condition, it will do you good.

2. Remember to acknowledge this goodneſs of God with all humility; your deliverance was not the purchaſe of your own power, nor of your own deſert, it was an act of the free and undeſerved goodneſs of God. What Almighty God ſaid by Moſes unto the Iſraelites [1], I ſhall ſay to you with ſome variation; underſtand, therefore, that the Lord thy God hath not given thee this deliverance for thy righteouſneſs; no, it is the mere effect of his own goodneſs, and to give you opportunity to praiſe him, and ſerve him, better than ever you did before.

3. Remember, that although great deliverances re-

[1] Deut. ix. 4, 6.

quire

quire your great acknowledgments, yet there is ſomewhat more required; namely, a real practical glorifying of God, by ordering your converſation aright, by ſerving him, pleaſing him, obeying him, living to his honour. This Almighty God expects as well as praiſes and acknowledgments. As the end of God in afflictions is to make men better, ſo the end of God in deliverances is to make men better; and if we are not the better men by both diſpenſations, we do, as much as in us lies, diſappoint Almighty God in his deſign, and diſappoint ourſelves of the benefit and advantage intended in both, and eaſily to be gained by both. This, therefore, is the voice of this deliverance; it calls ſweetly, and gently indeed, but earneſtly and effectually for amendment of life; and that upon two great and moving arguments: 1. Your recovery and great deliverance calls for this from you, upon the account of common ingenuity and good nature, which obligeth a man to be obſervant and dutiful to his benefactor. God Almighty is the greateſt benefactor, and hath manifeſted himſelf ſuch to you, upon a viſible eminent account; this is engagement enough, upon the account of common humanity, to be dutiful and obedient to him. When, therefore, you are at any time, by the temptation of your own corruption, or by the ſolicitation of evil perſons, ſolicited to evil actions, conſider thus with yourſelf: Is this a becoming return to that God that hath thus wonderfully delivered me? Is this the requital that I ſhall make to him for his mercy? Shall I pleaſe a vain luſt, or a vain companion, and diſpleaſe the great God of heaven and earth, that hath thus delivered me, and done me more good than all the world could ever do me, or than I can ever recompenſe? 'Do ye thus requite the Lord, O ye fooliſh people, and 'unwiſe? Is not he thy Father that hath bought thee? 'hath he not made thee, and eſtabliſhed thee[1]?'

2. This mercy calls for your obedience to God, in an eminent manner, upon the account of common

[1] Deut. xxxii. 6.

prudence

prudence and diſcretion. The benefit of your obedience to him will be your own, your own happineſs in this life, and in that to come. There is no greater moral ſecurity againſt future dangers and troubles, than obedience and reformation of life, upon great deliverances received; nor is there any greater invitation of new troubles and miſchiefs, than ingratitude, diſobedience, and great ſins, after great mercies and deliverances. There is a kind of certain and infallible connection between great ſins, after great mercies received, and great judgments to follow; *Ingentia beneficia, ingentia peccata, ingentia ſupplicia* [1]. Again, as I have formerly told you, you do not know how ſoon you may ſtand in need of the ſame mercy and goodneſs of God, which you have formerly found: you are never out of the reach of his power, and the neceſſity of his help. Whatever you do, therefore, never diſoblige him by whom you live, and whoſe extraordinary mercy you may ſtand in need of, you know not how ſoon. There is nothing in the world doth more provoke God than neglect, forgetfulneſs, or wilful diſobedience after ſignal mercies. Theſe provoke the merciful God to a ſeverity of the higheſt kind, becauſe the ſweeteſt and moſt obliging call of mercy and deliverance is neglected. Read the firſt chapter of the Proverbs attentively.

And the merciful God hath given us a plain rule and method how he may be ſerved, obeyed, and pleaſed; he hath given us a plain diſcovery of his will in the Scriptures of both Teſtaments. Read that often, you have it by you, and you need not go far to find what is your Maker's will, and what that obedience is that he requires as the return of this and all other his mercies. Yet I think it not amiſs to mind you of ſome particulars that may be uſeful for you upon this occaſion, and to direct you how particularly to improve it, and ſo order your future life in ſome meaſure anſwerable to it.

1. I would have you make it your firſt buſineſs, after

[1] Great benefits, great sins, great punishments.

after your recovery, to conſider the courſe of your life paſt, ſince you came to the age of diſcretion, and ſee what hath been amiſs in it: where you have not neglected religion, and the duties of it too much; as prayer, hearing the word preached, obſerving the Lord's-day, receiving the Sacrament; whether you have not been guilty of intemperance, exceſs of drinking, wantonneſs, uncleanneſs, idleneſs, miſpending your time, and thoſe ſupplies which have been allowed for your maintenance; whether you have not too much delighted in vain, and ſinful, and diſorderly company, vanity and expence in apparel. And if any ſuch, or the like faults have been, repent of them, be ſorry for them, reſolve againſt them, and let the future courſe of your life be amended in relation thereunto. I have before told you that your heavenly Father hath forgiven you, and I have forgiven you; neither do I mention theſe things to upbraid you for them, but that you, upon the conſideration of what hath been amiſs, may be thereby the better enabled to rectify and ſet in order your future life. If this be done and practiſed, I will reckon your late ſickneſs and diſtemper one of the greateſt bleſſings that ever befell you.

2. I would have you always keep a habit of the fear of God upon your heart; conſider his preſence, order your life as in his preſence; conſider that he always ſees you, beholds, and takes notice of you; and eſpecially whether you carry yourſelf anſwerable to this great deliverance; it is one of thoſe talents for which he will expect an account from you.

3. I would have you frequently and thankfully conſider of the great love of God in Jeſus Chriſt, whom he hath given to be the inſtructor, and governor, and ſacrifice for the ſins of you and all mankind, through whom, upon repentance, you have aſſurance of the remiſſion of your ſins, and eternal life; and frequently conſider how great an engagement this is upon you, and all mankind, to live according to ſuch a hope and ſuch a mercy.

4. I would

11. Be diligent in your ſtudy and calling, it is an act of duty to Almighty God that requires it, and it will be your wiſdom and benefit, it will be a good expence of time, a prevention from a thouſand inconveniencies and temptations that otherwiſe will befall a man; it will furniſh you with knowledge and underſtanding, give you the advantage and means of a comfortable and plentiful ſubſiſtence, and make you a ſupport, comfort, and benefit to your friends and country.

12. Be frugal in your expences; live within the compaſs of that exhibition that God's providence, and your father's abilities, ſhall ſupply you withal; it is enough to maintain an honeſt provident man, and ten times more will not be enough for a profuſe mind; a frugal man will live comfortably and plentifully upon a little; and a profuſe man will live beggarly, neceſſitouſly, and in continual want, whatever his ſupplies be.

13. In all your expences conſider before-hand: Can I not be well enough without this that I am about to buy? Is there an abſolute neceſſity of it? Can I not forbear till I am in a better condition to compaſs it? If I buy or borrow, can I pay? And when? And am I ſure? Will this expence hold out? How ſhall I bring about the next quarter, or the next year? If young men would but have the patience to conſider and aſk themſelves queſtions of the like nature, it would make them conſiderate in their expences, and provident for the future; and theſe conſiderations will, in a ſpecial manner, concern you in reſpect of your father's great expences for you, which, though I have forgiven and forgotten, I would have you remember with gratitude and caution.

14. The vanity of young men in loving fine clothes and new faſhions, and valuing themſelves by them, is one of the moſt childiſh pieces of folly that can be, and the occaſion of great profuſeneſs and undoing of young

young men. Avoid curioſity and too much expenſiveneſs in your apparel: let your apparel be comely, plain, decent, cleanly, not curious or coſtly; it is the ſign of a weak head-piece to be ſick for every new faſhion, or to think himſelf the better in it, or the worſe without it.

15. Be careful what company you conſort with, and much more careful what perſons you grow intimate with; chooſe ſober, wiſe, learned, honeſt, religious company; you will gain learning and wiſdom, and improve yourſelf in virtue and goodneſs, by converſing with them: But avoid debauched, fooliſh, intemperate, prodigal, atheiſtical, prophane company, as you would avoid a plague; they will corrupt and undo you, they are a ſort of the moſt pitiful fools in the world, and familiar acquaintance and converſation with them will endanger to make you like them.

16. Weigh and conſider your words, before you ſpeak them, and do not talk at random, or at a venture; let your words be few, and to the purpoſe; be more ready to hear others than to ſpeak yourſelf; accuſtom yourſelf to ſpeak leiſurely and deliberately, it will be a means to make you ſpeak warily and conſiderately.

17. Be very careful to ſpeak truth, and beware of lying; as lying is diſpleaſing to God, ſo it is offenſive to man, and always at the latter end returns to the reproach or diſadvantage of him that uſeth it; it is an evidence of a weak and unmanly mind. Be careful that you believe not haſtily ſtrange news, and ſtories, and be much more careful that you do not report them, though at the ſecond hand, for if it prove an untruth (as commonly ſtrange ſtories prove ſo), it brings an imputation of levity upon him that reports it, and poſſibly ſome diſadvantage to others.

18. Take heed what you promiſe, ſee that it be juſt, and honeſt, and lawful; and what is in your power, honeſtly and certainly to perform: and when you have ſo promiſed, be true to your word. It is for the

moſt part the faſhion of inconſiderate and young men, (eſpecially that run in debt) they will with great aſſeverations promiſe preciſe payment, at this day, or that day, when either they certainly know they cannot perform, or at leaſt have no probable aſſurance that they can do it; and when their turn is ſerved, they are as backward in performance, as they were before liberal in their promiſes. Breach of promiſes and lying are much of a nature, and commonly go together, and are arguments of an impotent and unmanly mind.

19. Beware of gaming, it is the ſuddeneſt conſumption of an eſtate that can be, and that vice ſeldom goes alone; commonly debauchery of all kinds accompanies it. Beſides, it makes a man of wild, vaſt, and unſettled mind; and ſuch men are impatient of an honeſt calling, or of moderate or honeſt gain.

20. Run not into debt either for wares ſold, or money borrowed; be content to want things that are not of abſolute neceſſity, rather than to run upon the ſcore; ſuch a man pays at the latter end a third part more than the principal comes to, and is in perpetual ſervitude to his creditors, lives uncomfortably, is neceſſitated to increaſe his debts, to ſtop his creditors' mouths, and many times falls into deſperate courſes.

21. Be reſpectful to all, familiar and intimate with few; be grateful to your benefactors, eſpecially to thoſe who, under God, were inſtrumental for your good, in your late ſickneſs, and return your thanks to them; to your father that ſpared no coſt for your recovery; to your doctor, that was exceedingly diligent about you; to thoſe that attended you in your ſickneſs; to thoſe that, together with your father, often prayed to God for your recovery, and for a bleſſing upon this affliction, whoſe names you ſhall in due time particularly know; but, above all, to Almighty God, who not only provided and bleſſed the means, but ſaved and delivered you above means, and when means failed.

22. Laſtly, I ſhall conclude with one advice more, without

without the obſervance whereof my labour in writing this long epiſtle will be probably fruitleſs: be not wiſe in your own conceit; this is the unhappy error, and many times the ruin of young men eſpecially: they are uſually raſh, giddy, and inconſiderate, and yet extremely confident of that which they have leaſt reaſon to truſt, namely, their own underſtanding, which renders them moſt reſerved from them that are willing and beſt able to adviſe them, impatient of reproof, love to be flattered, and ſo become uncapable of good and wiſe counſel, till their follies have reduced them to extreme ſtraits and inconveniencies: ſuſpect therefore your own judgment: adviſe often with your father, eſpecially in all things of moment; be glad of his counſel, and be contented and willing to follow it, and to guide your life according to it; at leaſt till ripeneſs of age, obſervation, and experience, have enabled you better to adviſe yourſelf: This is an eaſy, and ready and cheap way of attaining wiſdom, and avoiding of infinite inconveniencies.

And thus I have in this long epiſtle, given you the means how you may improve both your ſickneſs, and recovery, to the glory of God, and your own benefit.

I ſhall therefore conclude with two conſiderations, that may the more engage you to this uſe of both theſe diſpenſations.

1. The danger is great, if afflictions make not a man more humble and dutiful, and the danger is yet greater, if great deliverances and mercies do not make a man more thankful and obedient to God; becauſe it is the moſt obliging method that the gracious God can uſe towards the children of men, for that end, in this life: and the neglect of that invitation adds ingratitude and contempt to the neglect of it.

2. The benefit that you will receive by making a good uſe of theſe two diſpenſations, in improving your dutifulneſs and obedience to God, will be ſingular and excellent: 1. It will make you a wiſe man, by making you a good and religious man. Believe it from your father,

who will not deceive you, nay, believe it from a greater than your father, the very ſpirit of truth, who cannot deceive you; the true fear of God, is the only true wiſdom: Read Deut. iv. 6. Job. xxviii. 28. Pſalm cxi. 10. Prov. i. 7. Prov. ix. 10. Eccleſ. xii. 13; and very many more declarations there are of this great truth: 2. It will make you a happy man, it will give you the favour and love of God, which is better than life itſelf. You ſhall have his mercy to pardon you, his providence to protect you, his wiſdom to direct you, his goodneſs to bleſs you, and to forgive and forget whatſoever hath heretofore been done amiſs by you: this will make all conditions comfortable to you, whether life or death, ſickneſs or health. By this means you may be a comfort to your father, a ſupport to your brothers and ſiſters, an inſtrument of good to your country, and attain an honeſt, creditable, and competent ſubſiſtence in this world, and an everlaſting inheritance of glory and immortality in the world to come. Thus I have given you a large letter of ſound and good counſel: ſet your heart to it, and obſerve and remember it: we ſee how unſtable our lives are? you nor I know not how ſoon either or both of us may leave this world: It may be, this may be the laſt paper of advice that your father may give you. But however it ſhall pleaſe God to deal with you or me, touching our continuance in this world, yet let me leave this with you, in the cloſe of this letter. If I ſhall find that theſe directions are dutifully obſerved, I ſhall be ready from time to time, freely to adviſe and direct you; and as I have paſſed by your former extravagancies, ſo I ſhall thereby have great aſſurance that God hath bleſſed this viſitation to you. But, on the other ſide, if I ſhall find that you neglect my counſels, that you make light of them, that you ſtill purſue thoſe courſes that will certainly be bitterneſs in the end, I muſt then tell you, I ſhall pray for you, and be ſorry for you with my heart: but I ſhall not eaſily be perſuaded to give any more advices or counſels, where I find them deſpiſed or neglected. In this paper there are

many

many things omitted, which might have been inſerted; but the conſtant reading of the Holy Scriptures will ſupply unto you that defect: I have choſen only in this paper to mention ſuch things which are ſeaſonable for you upon this occaſion. God Almighty hath not been wanting to you in admonition, correction, mercy and deliverance; neither hath your father been wanting to you in education, counſel, care and expence. I pray God Almighty bleſs all unto you. This is the prayer of

Your loving Father [1],

MATTHEW HALE.

[1] From the ending of this Letter, as well as from some internal passages of it, it would rather appear to have been composed for a *Son* than a Grandson of Sir Matthew Hale's, as printed in the title to it, p. 223, though it is thus given in most of the old editions.

A BRIEF ABSTRACT

OF

THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION.

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1. THAT there is one, and but one, moſt glorious God, eternal, incomprehenſible, perfectly happy, infinite in wiſdom, power and goodneſs, filling all places, but comprehended in no place; full of juſtice, mercy, truth and perfection.

2. That this God, though but one in eſſence, is yet three in number of his ſubſiſtence, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

3. That this God, in the beginning of time, *created the world*, commonly called the Heaven and Earth, which he ſtill governs by his Power, Wiſdom, and Providence. And this he did, 1. for the manifeſtation and glory of his wiſdom, power, and goodneſs: 2. for the communication of his beneficence, goodneſs and bounty to the things which he thus made, according to their ſeveral natures and capacities.

4. That having finiſhed this inferior world, called the earth, and furniſhed it with all things neceſſary and convenient for the uſe and convenience of the nobler creature which he intended, he created the firſt man *Adam*, and the firſt woman *Eve, the common parents of all mankind:* from whom all the men and women in the world are derived by natural propagation.

5. To theſe firſt parents of mankind, Almighty God gave ſome endowments or conſtituent parts, that are common to all mankind, as well as to them: namely,

namely, 1. terreſtrial or earthly bodies; for the firſt man was made out of the earth; and the bodies of all other men, though they are derived to them by ordinary generation, yet their bodies are terreſtrial or elementary bodies: 2. ſpiritual and immortal ſouls, endued not only with the power of vegetation, as herbs and trees; nor only with the power of ſenſe and perception and appetite, as the brute beaſts; but alſo with the power of underſtanding and liberty of will, whereby he obtains a kind above all other viſible creatures beſides. And this Soul, thus endued with the power of underſtanding and will, doth not die with the body; but it is immortal and never dies. And this is called a reaſonable ſoul; whereby we underſtand, and think, and conſider, and remember, and chooſe one thing, and refuſe another; whereby we have a capacity to know Almighty God, his works, his will, and to obey and obſerve it; and to perform all the actions that belong to a reaſonable creature. 3. A power of propagation of their kind, by the mutual conjunction of ſexes, by virtue of that divine benediction, given to man, as well as to ſenſible creatures, *Be fruitful and multiply, and repleniſh the earth.* By virtue of which benediction, all the families of mankind that were, or are, or ſhall be upon the face of the earth, are in the courſe of ordinary generation derived from the firſt parents of mankind. 4. A power and right of dominion over the inferior creatures, which he doth exerciſe, partly by the ordination and appointment of their creation, and partly by the advantage of his underſtanding faculty: and though this dominion be in ſome ſort weakened and decayed by the fall of our firſt parents, yet it ſtill, in a great meaſure, continues to the children of men.

6. But ſome privileges our firſt parents had in their ſtate of innocence, which by their fall hath been much impaired and loſt, and not derived to their poſterity: 1. A ſtate of perfect innocence, free from all ſin and ſinful contagion. 2. A ſtate of happineſs and bleſſedneſs,

neſs, as large as human nature could be capable of. 3. A ſtate of great integrity and perfection, as far forth as it was poſſible for human nature to enjoy: as light and great knowledge in his underſtanding, integrity in his will, right order in his ſoul, righteouſneſs and holineſs. 4. A ſtate of immortality of body and ſoul in their perfect conjunction, ſo long as he kept his innocence.

7. The ends for which Almighty God created man thus, were, firſt, thoſe common ends which moved him to create the world above mentioned, namely, his own Glory, and the communication of his goodneſs and beneficence: but ſecondly, theſe ſeem to be the ſpecial ends of man's creation: 1. That he might have a creature in this lower world, that might more conveniently, actively and effectually give glory unto God: and to that end he endued him with nobler faculties that might perform this office; his underſtanding, whereby he might know his Maker, and his Will, and his Works; his Will, whereby he might obey his Will; his affections, whereby he might love, and fear, and admire him; his faculty of ſpeech, whereby he might glorify and praiſe him: this is another kind of glory than the other inferiors do, or can bring to their Maker. And to the end he might thus glorify his Maker, he placed him in the view and ſight of the goodly frame of heaven and earth, and gave him his law, wherein he ſhould obey and ſerve his Creator. 2. That he might be partaker of as much happineſs and bleſſedneſs as the human nature could be capable of, while it ſtood in conjunction with his body: and that he ſhould, by a kind of tranſlation into heaven, enjoy a more pure, perfect, and everlaſting ſtate of bleſſedneſs and glory.

8. When God had thus created man, he gave him *a law* of Righteouſneſs and Holineſs, and revealed it to him: and for a probation or trial of his obedience, forbade him the eating of the fruit of one tree in Paradiſe, under pain of death.

9. Our

9. Our firſt parents rebelled againſt that juſt and eaſy law, by eating the forbidden fruit. And although they did not preſently die corporally, yet they, by this *diſobedience*, fell into theſe inconveniences: 1. They were preſently under the ſentence of everlaſting death, though delivered from it by the Meſſiah, that promiſed ſeed. 2. They loſt the eſtate of immortality of their bodies, though they loſt not the ſtate of immortality of their ſouls, which were eſſentially immortal. 3. They loſt their innocence, their happy eſtate in Paradiſe, the clear and ſupernatural light of their underſtanding, the rectitude of their wills, the right order of their affections: and their ſouls loſt much of its perfection, though not its eſſential ſpirituality and immortality. 4. All that were after derived from them by ordinary generation, though they had immortal ſouls, yet their faculties were embaſed and corrupted, and greatly diſordered, and without the extraordinary grace of God preventing and aſſiſting them, prone to all kind of evil and ſin, and thereby obnoxious to the wrath of God, and to everlaſting death. And this is the condition of all the poſterity of Adam by nature, except Jeſus Chriſt.

10. God Almighty, in his eternal wiſdom and foreknowledge of the fall of man, in his infinite wiſdom and goodneſs, *purpoſed to ſend forth his Son*, to take the human nature, and to become a King, a Prieſt, and a Prophet, and alſo a Sacrifice, to expiate the ſins of mankind, and to make them again partakers of the great and eſſential part of that happineſs which the firſt man loſt by his fall: and ſo to recover unto himſelf a creature that might actually glorify and ſerve him.

11. And to make this purpoſe effectual to our firſt parents, and to thoſe that ſucceeded them before the coming of Chriſt the purpoſed Redeemer, Almighty God was pleaſed to uſe two expedients: 1. He gave out *the promiſe of the Meſſiah*, or the ſeed of the woman, the ſeed in whom all nations ſhould be bleſſed: and the belief of this, though darkly revealed, became

came an inſtrument or means to render the promiſed Meſſiah effectual to them, to partake of the benefits of his redemption, when it was joined with the obedience to the revealed Will of God in ſincerity. 2. He gave out *Precepts* directing men to their duty; and to the ſincere endeavour of obedience to thoſe precepts, he annexed the benefit of remiſſion of ſins and acceptance of their perſons and duties, through the Meſſiah, or Chriſt, that was to come.

12. In the fulneſs or appointment of time, namely, about four thouſand years after the creation of mankind, *the Son of God*, by a miraculous conception of the Virgin Mary, without the conjunction of man, *aſſumed the human nature*, became man, lived about three and thirty years, diſcovered the mind and will of God touching mankind, confirmed his doctrine with unqueſtionable Miracles and Evidences from Heaven, and lived a moſt holy and ſpotleſs life, and then was without cauſe crucified by the Jews, was buried, the third day he roſe from the dead, lived again, according as he promiſed, and converſed with his Diſciples forty days, then aſcended into the glorious Heavens, where he is in a ſtate of glory and power.

13. And after his Aſcenſion, he ſent upon his Apoſtles, as he promiſed, the power of *the Holy Spirit*; whereby they did many miracles in witneſs of the truth of the doctrine and hiſtory of Chriſt.

14. The reaſons and ends, *why the Son of God thus took our nature, became man, and died for us*, were theſe: 1. That the eternal counſel and purpoſe of God, for the recovering and redemption of mankind out of their loſt condition, and all thoſe predictions and prophecies touching the ſame, might be fulfilled, and thereby the great God to have the glory of his wiſdom, mercy, power and truth. 2. That there might be a common remedy for the recovery of mankind to their duty and ſubjection to Almighty God, that they might actively glorify their Creator, according to the end of their creation. 3. That there might be a common

common remedy afforded to mankind, to obtain in ſubſtance that happineſs which they loſt in their firſt parents, and by their own renewed tranſgreſſions, and a means provided for the pardon of their ſins, and ſaving of their immortal ſouls, and yet without derogation of the divine juſtice, and the honour of his government.

15. In order to theſe great ends, the Son of God was thus ſent from heaven, and commiſſionated as it were by the Father, principally to do theſe great buſineſſes in this world: 1. To *acquaint the world* with the whole Will of God concerning mankind: 2. To lay down a full and ſufficient *Sacrifice* for the Sins of the World, by his own Death and Paſſion: 3. To give the world all poſſible *aſſurance* both of the Truth of his Doctrine and the ſufficiency of his Satisfaction, by his wonderful Miracles, by his Reſurrection and Aſcenſion, and by the diffuſion of the gifts of the Spirit upon his Apoſtles and Believers, after his Aſcenſion.

16. Touching the firſt of theſe, namely, *The manifeſtation of the Divine Will touching Mankind.* This contains the doctrine of the Goſpel, the Meſſage ſent from heaven by the Son of God, touching all things to be believed, and to be done by the children of men, in order to their Redemption and attaining of everlaſting happineſs. And this was neceſſary, becauſe the world was full of darkneſs and ignorance. And many things that were now neceſſary for men to know, were but darkly revealed unto the former ages of the world. The Son of God therefore came to bring Life and Immortality to light, by the Goſpel.

17. *The Doctrines of the Goſpel*, which Chriſt brought with him into the world, were principally theſe:

1. That all men have immortal ſouls, which muſt live to all eternity, notwithſtanding the death of their bodies.

2. That there ſhould come a diſſolution of this preſent world, and at that time there ſhall be a reſurrection of all that had been dead, and a change of all that ſhould be then living, into an immortal eſtate.

3. That

3. That there ſhould at that day be a final Judgment, where all men ſhould be doomed, ſome to everlaſting life and happineſs, ſome to everlaſting miſery.

4. That in the ſtrict rule of Divine Juſtice, the wages of every ſin is everlaſting death and miſery, which is fully deſcribed in the Goſpel.

5. That all mankind is obnoxious to everlaſting death and miſery, becauſe all mankind have ſinned, and are born in ſin. So that without the help of mercy from God, all mankind are in a loſt and deſperate condition.

6. That yet for all this, Almighty God is willing that his creature ſhould be reconciled to him, is deſirous to pardon his ſins, to be at peace with him, and everlaſtingly to ſave him, and to reſtore unto him that everlaſting happineſs that he had loſt by his own ſin, and the ſin of our firſt parents.

7. But yet that all this ſhould be done in ſuch a way as might be conſiſtent with the honour of his juſtice and of his government, as well as of his mercy and of his bounty: and therefore that he will have a ſacrifice and a price laid down for the ſins of the world, namely, the precious life of his own Son Jeſus Chriſt, that publiſhed this doctrine to the world: and this ſacrifice and ſatisfaction the glorious God would accept in a way of juſtice, and yet in a way of mercy, that his juſtice might be ſatisfied, his mercy magnified, and his creature ſaved.

8. And that becauſe it would be neither agreeable to the honour nor the wiſdom of Almighty God, that any man that had the uſe of his reaſon and underſtanding, ſhould have the fruit and benefit of this mercy and ſacrifice, without returning to his duty to God, by true repentance for what he had done amiſs, and by better obedience to God: neither was there any fitneſs or ſuitableneſs between a pure and holy God, or that bleſſedneſs which mankind might expect with him, and a people that ſhould yet continue deſperately ſinful and impure: and it was alſo reaſonable and fit,

that

that if mankind would expect the reſtitution to that everlaſting happineſs, that they loſt by their own ſins, and the ſin of their firſt parents, then they ſhould alſo return to their duty and obedience to God, and perform in ſome meaſure, that end for which mankind was at firſt created, namely, actively to glorify that God that had made them eſpecially after ſo great an addition of mercy as the Redemption of the World by the death of his own Son; therefore he appointed and intended, and publiſhed to the world, that all that would have the fruit and benefit of this great Redemption, ſhould *repent* of their ſins, and *endeavour ſincerely* to obey the precepts of piety, ſobriety, and righteouſneſs, commanded by Almighty God by the Meſſage of his Son.

9. And becauſe, that if thoſe to whom this meſſage of the Goſpel of Chriſt ſhould be publiſhed, ſhould yet not believe the ſame, nor believe that Jeſus was the true Meſſias, or that his Doctrine was the true and real Meſſage of Almighty God to the world, it could never be expected that they would obey this Heavenly Command, nor return to God, or the duty they owed him; he did therefore require of all perſons that were of underſtanding, to whom the Goſpel ſhould be publiſhed, that they ſhould *believe* it to be true, and believe that Chriſt was the true Meſſias, the great ſacrifice for the ſin of the world, and the doctrine which he preached, was the Will of God concerning man.

10. And thus there are theſe *conditions* to be performed on the part of thoſe that will expect the benefit of the Redemption purchaſed by the Blood of Chriſt: 1. That all that are of underſtanding to whom the Goſpel is preached, ſhould *believe* it to be the Truth, and reſt upon it as the Truth of God: 2. That they ſhould be heartily ſorry for their former ſins, and *repent* of them, and turn from them. This is *repentance.* 3. That they ſhould in all ſincerity, endeavour to conform their hearts and wills, and lives, to the Precepts and Commandments of Chriſt and his

his Goſpel, which is called *ſanctification* and new Obedience.

11. And becauſe when we have done all we can, yet we are in this life compaſſed about with many infirmities and temptations, and ſubject to fail in our duty to God, and to theſe Holy Precepts of the Goſpel; yet the merciful God hath aſſured us by his Son Chriſt Jeſus, that if we ſincerely endeavour to obey the precepts of the Goſpel, and repent for our failings herein, and ſo renew our peace with God by unfeigned repentance, the ſame Sacrifice of his Son ſhall be accepted to expiate for our ſins and failings, and the bleſſed God will accept of our ſincere, though imperfect obedience, as a performance of that part of the Covenant of the Goſpel that concerns our obedience to God, and the commands of the Goſpel. And this is called *Evangelical Obedience*, which, though it be not perfect, yet being ſincere, and accompanied with real and ſincere endeavours to obey, and repentance for our daily failings, is accepted of God through the ſacrifice of Chriſt, who is not only our Sacrifice and Propitiation, but alſo our Interceſſor and Mediator at the right hand of God. 'If any man ſin, we have an advocate with 'the Father, even Jeſus Chriſt, who ſitteth at the right 'hand of the Father[1].'

12. And becauſe many times *example* gives a great light and life to precepts, our bleſſed Saviour, in his life, gave us an excellent example of the practice of thoſe precepts which he hath given to us, as, namely, obedience and ſubmiſſion to the Will of God; invocation upon him; holineſs, purity, ſobriety, patience, righteouſneſs, juſtice, charity, compaſſion, bounty, truth, ſincerity, uprightneſs, heavenly mindedneſs, low eſteem of worldly glory, condeſcenſion, and all thoſe graces and virtues that he requires and expects from us.

18. And as thus our Lord Jeſus came to inſtruct us in all things neceſſary for us to believe and practiſe,

[1] 1 John ii. 1. Heb. viii. 1. & x. 12.

and

and to give us an admirable pattern and example of a holy and virtuous life: ſo, 2. He came *to die for us*, and to die ſuch a death as had in it all the circumſtances of bitterneſs, and yet accompanied with unſpotted innocence and incomparable patience; and he thus died *for theſe ends:*

1. To lay down a ranſom for the ſins of mankind, and a Price for the Purchaſe of Everlaſting Life and Happineſs for all thoſe that receive him, believe in him, and obey the Goſpel.

2. To ſatisfy the Juſtice of God, to make good his Truth, to vindicate the Honour of his Government, and to proclaim his Juſtice, his Indignation againſt Sin, and yet to magnify his Love and Mercy to Mankind, in giving his Son to be a Price of their Redemption.

3. To give a juſt indication unto all the world of the vileneſs of ſin, the abhorrence of it, that coſt the Son of God his life, when he was but under the imputed guilt of it, that ſo mankind might deteſt and avoid ſin, as the vileſt of evils.

4. To give a moſt unparalleled inſtance of his love to the world, that did chooſe to die for the children of men, to redeem them from everlaſting death.

5. And thereby to oblige mankind with the moſt obliging and endearing inſtance to love and obey that Jeſus, that thus died for them, and out of the common principles of humanity and gratitude, to love and obey him that thus loved them, and laid down his life for them.

6. To give a moſt convincing Evidence of the Truth of his Doctrine, and the ſincereneſs of his profeſſions of love to mankind, by ſealing the ſame with his own Blood.

CONSIDERATIONS

SEASONABLE AT ALL TIMES

FOR

CLEANSING THE HEART AND LIFE.

CONSIDERATIONS

SEASONABLE AT ALL TIMES

FOR

CLEANSING THE HEART AND LIFE.

1. Of *God*, and therein,

1. Of *his purity and holineſs*, one that cannot endure to behold iniquity. 'The ſtars are not pure in his 'ſight[1].' 'And his angels he chargeth with folly[2].' How then canſt thou think to draw near to the Holy God, when thy heart, and thy lips, and thy life, are clothed with impurity and filthineſs? when thy thoughts, the only inſtruments whereby thou canſt converſe with him, are buſied in conſiderations unworthy of a ſpirit, much more unworthy of the God of ſpirits? Canſt thou think that this holy God will accept of the productions of that ſoul, thy prayers and meditations, who but now was employed in baſe unclean earthly thoughts, and didſt but now part with them with a reſolution to reſume them? Every impure thought leaves a mark and blot upon thy ſoul, that remains when thy thought is paſſed; and canſt thou bring that ſpotted ſoul into the preſence of the pure and holy God without confuſion and ſhame? Thou art now going about with thy lips to draw near unto God; remember how many vain and unprofitable words, how many murmuring and unthankful words, how many unclean and filthy words, how many falſe and diſſembling words, how many proud and arrogant words, how many malicious and vindictive words, how many hypocritical and deceitful words,

[1] Job xxv. 5. Job xv. 15. [2] Job iv. 18.

how

how many seducing and misleading words, how many ungodly and blasphemous words have stained and polluted those calves of thy lips, thou art now about to sacrifice to thy Creator. Thou art about to undertake a conversation and walking with God. 'Can two walk together unless they are agreed [1]'. How then canst thou, a polluted man in all thy actions, even those of the best denomination, expect to have a conversation with the Holy, Holy, Holy Lord? The stains of thy life past stick upon thee, and thou art not cleansed from them; and the sea of corruption that is within thee will, notwithstanding thy highest resolutions, never cease to cast out mire and dirt.

'O Lord, it is true, I am a sinful man, and the 'whole frame of my heart, and lips, and life, hath 'been only evil, and that continually: and as I have 'been, so still I must continue, without Thy mercy to 'pardon and cleanse me. My pollutions and impuri-'ties are such as may justly affright me from coming 'near Thy holiness, lest I should be consumed; such as 'may discourage my prayers and applications unto 'Thee, lest I should stain and infect them: and it is no 'more in my power to change or cleanse myself from 'the stains of my sins past, or from the growing evils 'of my nature, than in the leopard to change his 'spots; so that I may most justly conclude, that it 'were extreme presumption for me to draw near unto 'Thee, and rather cry out with the disciple, 'Depart 'from me, O Lord, for I am a sinful man [2]'. But if 'I sit where I am, I shall perish; and if I draw near 'unto Thee, I can but die. That purity that I behold 'in Thee, is the purity of the great God; and my sins 'are the sins of a finite creature: my sinfulness cannot 'defile Thy holiness, but Thy holiness may cleanse 'my impurity: that fire which will consume an im-'pure and a proud heart, will cleanse an impure and un-'humble heart. O Lord, I desire to abhor myself in 'dust and ashes. Unless Thou hadst shewn me my

[1] Amos iii. 3. [2] Luke v. 8.

'filthineſs, I could not have ſeen it; and unleſs Thy 'Grace had been with my heart, I could not have 'humbled myſelf before Thee: unleſs thou hadſt 'called me, I could not have moved towards Thee. 'Thy promiſes, upon which my ſoul ſhall ever fix till 'Thou throw me off, are full of bounty and tenderneſs 'even to the vileſt of ſinners; no ſin of ſo deep a dye 'but thy mercy can waſh away; no corruption ſo 'hideous, but Thy grace can cleanſe. And ſo far haſt 'Thou condeſcended to the weakneſs of Thy creature, 'that Thou haſt given us a viſible ſacrifice, whoſe blood 'is ſufficient to cleanſe us from all our guilt, a viſible 'fountain to waſh for ſin and for uncleanneſs, even 'the Blood of the Son of God, which cleanſeth us 'from all ſin, which cleanſeth our conſciences from 'the guilt and ſtain of ſin, and waſheth our bodies 'from the dominion and pollution of ſin; and by that 'blood hath opened a new and living way for us into 'the preſence of God [1], and given acceſs thereby into 'the holieſt, and given us a commiſſion to draw near 'with acceptation into his preſence [2].'

2. The *preſence of God.* 'Whither ſhall I fly from 'thy preſence [3]?' He ſeeth the ſecreteſt corners of the world, and the ſecreteſt chambers of thy heart, and all the gueſts that are there, even thy cloſeſt thoughts and contrivances and purpoſes, much more thy moſt retired and deepeſt actions, are as legible to him as if they were graved in braſs. And the deep and ſettled and frequent conſideration of this, will be of excellent uſe upon all occaſions.

Is thy heart ſolicited by thyſelf (as our unhappy hearts are our own tempters) or by any object, or by the perſuaſions of others, or by the ſuggeſtion of the Devil, to impure ſpeculations, or ſinful reſolutions, to atheiſtical diſputations, to proud or arrogant conceptions of thyſelf, to revengeful or uncharitable or forbidden wiſhes, to vain and unprofitable thoughts? remember thou and all thoſe thy thoughts (which never

[1] Hebr. x. 20. [2] Hebr. x. 19. [3] Psal. cxxxix. 7.

even natural modeſty or prudence would ſhame thee to publiſh before a mortal man as thou art) are all naked and manifeſt before the Great, Holy, and Immortal God, whoſe eyes walk through all the corners of thy heart: and dareſt thou in his preſence to entertain ſuch gueſts as theſe in that place where thy Creator is preſent; in that place which thou pretendeſt to make a temple for him, in that place which the Lord of Heaven is pleaſed moſt juſtly and moſt mercifully to claim as his own? Conſider what a preſence thou art in: he is not only an eye-witneſs of the impurities of thy heart (which yet, if there were nothing elſe, might juſtly ſhame thee), but it is his preſence who hath forbidden thee to entertain ſuch vermin as theſe in thy heart, under pain of eternal death; it is thy Judge that ſees thee; it is the great Creator, before whom the Angels of Heaven cover their faces, not being able to behold his glory: and, which is more than all this to an ingenuous nature, it is he to whom thou oweſt thyſelf and all thou art; he to whom thou haſt given up thy name, that hath purchaſed thy heart from hell with the price of his Son's blood: and how canſt thou chooſe but tremble and be confounded, to think that thou ſhouldeſt, contrary to all the bonds of duty and gratitude, even in his preſence and before his face, let in again thoſe abominations into thy heart, from which it was cleanſed by the Blood of Chriſt?

Again: Hath a ſinful thought, through incogitancy of the preſence of God, entered into thy heart? yet remember the preſence of God, before it grow into a purpoſe or reſolution: or if it hath gone ſo far as a reſolution, yet remember that preſence, and thou canſt not dare to perfect this hideous conception unto action: and improve *Joſeph's* queſtion, 'How can I 'do this great wickedneſs, and ſin againſt God[1]?' Thy Creator, thy Judge beholds thee. Let it be the matter of thy humiliation to conſider that thou haſt ſtained the habitation of his preſence by admitting a

[1] Gen. xxxix. 9.

ſinful thought; that thou haſt in his preſence and in his place nouriſhed it into a reſolution: and therefore let it be at laſt thy care at leaſt to kill this reſolution before it comes to action, by improving this practical conſideration of the preſence of the holy, glorious, and terrible God: and if, notwithſtanding this conſideration, thy ſoul ſhrink not from thy purpoſe; or if thou reject the conſideration of his preſence, that thou mayeſt the more quietly and contentedly ſin; or if thou precipitate thy reſolution into action, leſt the conſideration of his preſence ſhould ſtep into thy heart and divert thee; thy ſin is heightned, and thou addeſt contempt of God unto thy offence, by rejecting the light and grace, that might and would, if brought to thy heart, reſtrain thee, and with the preſumptuous ſinner in *Job* xxi. 14. thou ſayeſt to God, 'Depart 'from me, for I deſire not the knowledge of thy ways.' And it is no wonder if he take thee at thy word, and depart from thee to all eternity, by the preſence of his love and goodneſs, though his ſevere and angry eye and preſence ever reſt upon thee.

Again: Is the God of heaven an eye-witneſs of *thy carriage*, when either by thyſelf or others thou art ſolicited to evil? Take *courage to reſiſt* this temptation, becauſe thy Creator ſees thee. Aſk thy temptation, whether it can ſecure thee from the ſight and wrath of God; whether it can countervail thy damage in diſpleaſing him that beholds thee? Doſt thou want courage or reſolution to oppoſe it? conſider thy Lord ſtands by to ſee, and obſerve, and reward thee in thy oppoſition. Couldſt thou ſee but that Glory that hath commanded thy reſiſtance of evil, and how near it ſtands by thee, all the choiceſt ſolicitations to any ſin would die in their firſt offer againſt thee. Doſt thou doubt thy ſtrength to oppoſe it? know that thou canſt not want ſtrength, if thou haſt but reſolution: it is thy cowardice makes thee weak; it is not thy weakneſs that makes thee cowardly: all the men in the world, nor all the devils in hell, could not faſten a ſin upon thee,

thee, unleſs thou firſt conſent. But ſuppoſe thou doubteſt thy own heart, yet conſider thy Maker's preſence, who is by thee, and able to ſupport thee, if thou wilt but lay hold of his ſtrength; and that ſtrength of his he offers thee if thou wilt but take it: and it is not poſſible thou ſhouldeſt want it, if thou ſeriouſly conſider that he is preſent; for it is an act of thy faith whereby thou doſt believe his preſence, and by the ſame act thou doſt partake of all that goodneſs, and truth, and mercy, which accompanies his preſence, and will bear thee up againſt the moſt accompliſhed temptation. Conſider that the preſence of God, that beholds thy carriage in a temptation, as it muſt needs add an infinite diſhonour, and ſhame, and confuſion, that in the preſence of the glorious and pure God thou ſhouldeſt ſink under a baſe temptation, contrary to the commands and holineſs of him that beholds thee, ſo it cannot chooſe but ſtrengthen thee againſt the ſtrongeſt temptation, by the anticipation of that comfort and contentment that thou muſt needs have by holding thine integrity, when ſuch thoughts as theſe ſhall move thy heart:—I am now ſolicited to break my Maker's Command for a periſhing profit or pleaſure; whatſoever my ſucceſs be, I know the Glorious, Holy, Mighty God, ſees my demeanour, even he that hath his reward in his hand, of indignation, and vengeance, and ſhame, in caſe I yield to this unworthy ſolicitation; and approbation, glory, and immortality, in caſe I ſtick to his Command; and ſhall I, in the preſence of the Almighty and Glorious God, prefer the ſatisfaction of an unworthy luſt or temptation, with ſhame in the preſence of my Creator, before my obedience unto him, even in his own ſight, when he looks upon me, and encourageth me with a promiſe of ſtrength to aſſiſt me, and of glory to reward me? To be able to hear in my own conſcience the ſuffrage of the Lord of Heaven beholding me, *Well done, good and faithful ſervant*, were enough to overweigh all

my

my obedience, though it were poſſible that it could be divided from what follows, *Enter into thy maſter's joy.*

Again: Art thou in any *temporal calamity*, be it what it will? the conſideration of the preſence of God will make thy condition comfortable, 'Though 'I walk in the valley of the ſhadow of death, I will 'fear no evil, for thou art with me[1]:' my wants are great, and my reproaches are great, and my enemies, my pains, my dangers, my loſſes, my diſcomforts are great; but they are not hid from God; he is preſent, and his *Wiſdom*, and if he ſaw it not fit for me to be afflicted, it is enough I have learned to acknowledge his Wiſdom, and with patience and chearfulneſs to ſubmit to him, who meaſures out every dram of this bitter potion to moſt wiſe ends, and yet ſtands by to manage it: he is preſent, and his *Power* and *Omnipotence*, and my prayers have no long journey to come unto him; when my exigencies are at the higheſt, his power is enough, and near enough to help me in the very article of neceſſity; and when I am ſinking with *Peter*, he hath an arm near enough to reſcue me from the ripe and victorious danger. He is preſent, and his *Compaſſion*, and *Mercy*, and *Tenderneſs*, and *Faithfulneſs*, who will not ſuffer me to be tempted above what I am able to bear: it is his Mercy that hath thus much or thus long afflicted me; for ſo much the neceſſity of my ſoul, it may be, did require. 'Thy 'Judgments are right, and thou in faithfulneſs haſt 'afflicted me[2]:' and that I am afflicted no more, it is thy mercy. For he ſtands by, and ſees what meaſure conſiſts with my good; and when the meaſure begins to exceed my ſtrength, and either eaſeth my burden, or helps me to bear it; 'In all their afflictions he was 'afflicted[3]', he is preſent, and *his All-ſufficiency*: and this is enough to ſwallow up all the bitterneſs and darkneſs of my extremeſt miſery. The comfort, and beauty, and goodneſs of every thing in itſelf, or which it can reach out to me by fruition or participation, is

[1] Pſalm xxiii. 4. [2] Pſalm cxix. 75. [3] Iſaiah lxiii. 9.

that

that which is derived to it only from the Wiſdom, Power, and Goodneſs of God; and there is no more of good in the creature than what he lends it; neither can it communicate to me more, nor can I receive more from it than what he enables it to give, and me to receive: and the creatures are but thoſe veſſels accommodated and fitted to my nature, out of which I drink that good that he hath put into them: and if he put not communicative good into the creatures, they will prove but empty veſſels unto me, or ſuch as are ſealed up and cannot communicate that good that is in them: without his particular bounty unto me, the creature unto me will be but like the Prophet's book, which he that is learned could not read, becauſe it was ſealed; and he to whom it was opened could not read it, becauſe he was unlearned: either the good that is in them is ſealed up to me, and it cannot be drawn out; or I am ſealed up to it, and cannot draw it out. 'A man to whom God hath 'given riches, wealth and honour, ſo that he wanteth 'nothing, yet God giveth him not power to eat thereof[1]:' ſo then the concluſion of all is, That all the good that is in the things we enjoy, and in the enjoyment whereof men account themſelves happy, and in the want whereof they account themſelves miſerable, is but a derived good from the chiefeſt Good, but a portion of that good which is in the chiefeſt Good; but a good at the ſecond hand, which at the firſt hand is to be found in all perfection in the chiefeſt Good: and therefore if I can but enjoy the preſence and communion of the chiefeſt Good, I ſhall with and in him enjoy all that good, and far more, in the fountain, though all the conduits through which they are ordinarily derived to man by the creatures, are ſtopped to me. It is an act of great mercy and wiſdom in God, that, when the moſt part of men are led merely by ſenſe, and underſtand not the preſence of God, and that all-ſufficiency that is in him, he is pleaſed to

[1] Eccles. vi. 2.

derive

derive a ſuitable good unto their natures, by ſuch ſenſible inſtruments unto which men may reſort, and therein may find thoſe goods that are accommodate to their nature and condition; as, to medicines and phyſic, for their health and cures; to bread and meat, for the ſupply of their hunger; to muſic and wine, for refreſhing their ſpirits; to fortifications, confederacies, and civil conjunctions, for preventing or repreſſing of injuries, and the like; for through theſe channels God is pleaſed to derive, at the ſecond hand, and as it were at a diſtance, that good which men find in them: but how great is that mercy, that diſcovers God himſelf to be near unto me, and to compaſs me about; and diſcovers in him a ſea of all-ſufficiency infinitely more than proportionable to all my exigencies; and gives me an acceſs immediately to that all-ſufficiency, where I ſhall find at the firſt hand all that good that is ſtrained and runs through the creatures at a diſtance; where I may and ſhall, if I be not defective to myſelf, moſt certainly have whatſoever the creature can afford, or what ſhall abundantly ſupply that defect to my greater advantage and contentment! Is my eſtate ſmall, and ſcarce holding proportion to my neceſſities? The all-ſufficient God is near unto me, and he can protract my cruiſe of oil to my ſupport: but if he do not, yet if he be pleaſed to be my exceeding great reward [1], the portion of my inheritance and my cup [2], I can cheerfully and comfortably conclude with the ſame Prophet, 'my lines are fallen in 'pleaſant places, and I have a goodly heritage:' and with the Prophet, 'Though the fig-tree ſhall not 'bloſſom, neither ſhall there be fruit in the vine, the 'labour of the olive ſhall fail, and the field ſhall yield 'no meat, &c. yet I will rejoice in the Lord, I will 'joy in the God of my ſalvation [3].' I can bear all my wants with cheerfulneſs and contentedneſs of heart, becauſe the all-ſufficient God is preſent with me, in whom I find more abundance of better com-

[1] Gen. xv. 1. [2] Pſalm xvi. 5. [3] Habakuk. iii. 17, 18.

fort

ſort than I can find in all the creatures of the world; one that is not only eſſentially preſent with me, but is pleaſed to evidence his preſence unto me: I have a plentiful inheritance, and have not far to it: Is my reputation and name wrongfully blaſted and withered? yet the Great and Glorious God is preſent; and if I can lay open my conſcience before him, and clear myſelf to him, and can appeal to him who is preſent with my heart and all my actions, and can receive an approbation from him, I value not the eſteems of men. He is a ſhield for me, my glory, and the lifter up of my head[1]; and if I am precious in his ſight, I am honourable enough[2], he can clear up my reputation as the noon day, and will do it if he ſee it fit for my good, and his own glory: but if he doth not, his will be done, I am contented, and value not all the ſcorns and reproaches, all the contumelies and diſgraces, all the calumnies and ſlanders laid upon me by men, in compariſon of that content and ſatisfaction by the preſence of the God that ſees, and knows, and juſtifies me. Is the world ſtormy, full of wars, and rapine, and injuries, exceeding the repreſſion of civil juſtice? The preſence of God is a ſtrength to my ſoul againſt all this, and a greater ſecurity than the munitions of rocks, and the ſtrength of armies: he is a ſhield[3], a refuge[4], a rock, a fortreſs and deliverer[5], a defence[6], our ſtrength[7], a hiding place to preſerve from trouble[8], a preſent help in time of trouble[9], a ſhelter in times of danger[10], a refuge from the ſtorm, a ſhadow from the heat, when the blaſt of the terrible ones is as a ſtorm againſt a wall[11], the Lord of hoſts is with us, the God of Jacob is our refuge[12], under the ſhadow of his wings is our truſt and ſafety[13], a hiding place from the councils and contrivances[14], and from the injuries and violence

[1] Pſalm iii. 3. [2] Iſaiah xliii. 4. [3] Gen. xv. 1. [4] Pſalm ix. 9.
[5] 2 Sam. xxii. 2. [6] Pſalm xciv. 22. [7] Pſalm xxxvii. 39.
[8] Pſalm xxxii. 7. [9] Pſalm xlvi. 1. [10] Pſalm lxi. 3.
[11] Iſaiah xxv. 4 [12] Pſalm xlvi. 7. [13] Pſalm xxxvi. 7. Pſalm lvii. 1.
[14] Pſalm lxiv. 2.

of

of men [1]; if he pleaſe he can ſecure my eſtate and my body from violence; but if he do not, I am ſure that my treaſure and my life ſhall be ſecured; for my life is hid with God in Chriſt: I know he hath wiſdom enough, and power enough, and mercy enough to preſerve me; and he hath no need to be acquainted with my danger, for he is with me; neither have my deſires any long or uncertain journey to him, for he is with my thoughts, and knows them before they are formed; 'Before they can call, I will anſwer [2]:' and as long as I know that the wiſe God is ſo near me, I am ſure of deliverance, if it be convenient; and if it be not, why ſhould I be troubled if I miſcarry? And as thus my heart, ſenſible of the preſence of God, can entertain the dangers that ſeem to come from the hands of others; ſo it will bear up the heart in all other ſad occurrences of this life. Is my mind full of perplexities and difficulties how or what to reſolve? the God of wiſdom is within my call, and within my view, and I can beg his counſel, and I am ſure to have it, and his is the beſt counſel. Are my loſſes great, and of thoſe things wherein I took moſt delight? Yet they cannot countervail the enjoyment of the preſence of the All-ſufficient God. Is my body full of tortures or diſeaſes, and death looks in upon me between the curtains, and my ſoul ſitting upon my lips, and like the light of a dying candle, taking her flight from my body? yet the preſence of the All-ſufficient God is able to make this valley of the ſhadow of death lightſome, and thoſe pains eaſy, and bear up my ſoul againſt the horror and amazement of death: for he ſtands by me with ſtrength to ſupport me, with victory and immortality to receive that ſoul (the only ſeat where my fear can dwell) into a more near and immediate ſenſe of his preſence, than in my body it could feel: only remember, that though the preſence of his eſſence cannot be excluded from any place or perſon [3], yet there are occaſions that may

[1] Jer. xxxvi. 26. [2] Iſaiah lxv. 24. [3] Jer. xxiii. 24.

ſeparate

ſeparate from the ſenſe of his preſence, or make his preſence terrible unto thee. 'Your iniquities have ſeparated 'between you and your God, and your ſins have hid his 'face from you, that he will not hear [1].' And if ſuch an unhappy time befall thee, that he hide from thy ſoul his comfortable preſence, let it be thy care to return unto him, by humbling of thy heart ſincerely before him for thy relapſe. He never departs from any till man firſt depart from him; and he never hides himſelf long from any that in ſincerity return unto him. The very moving of thy heart to ſeek him is the work of his power and mercy upon thee, and is an undeniable evidence that he hath not utterly forſaken thee: unleſs he firſt did ſeek and find thee, and touch that heart of thine with his own finger, thy heart would rather die in her ſin than return unto God; and therefore be ſure thy returning to him ſhall not be without a finding of him: only make this uſe of thy experience of ſuch a caſe: bleſs the mercy of God, that hath not rejected thee, though thou haſt forſaken him: bleſs the meditation of thy Redeemer, that when thou little thinkeſt of it, intercedes for thy pardon, and ſends out his Spirit to reduce his wayward, ſinful, wandering creature: bleſs the bounty and patience of God, that is ſo ready to accept again into favour his relapſed but humbled creature; and remember that it is an evil thing and a bitter to depart from him: fall upon thy knees with tears of ſorrow for thy ingratitude, and tears of joy for thy re-entertainment into the preſence of him that yet is pleaſed to own thee as a father: take up indignation againſt thy ſin that hath deprived thee of ſo great a good as the comfortable preſence of God; and take up jealous thoughts over thyſelf and all thy ways, and conſider well of all thy enterpriſes before thou undertake them, whether there be any thing in them that may offend thy reconciled father: and becauſe thy judgment is weak, and cannot ſo clearly diſcern thy

[1] Iſaiah lix. 2.

way

way, and thy ſtrength is weak in oppoſing of temptation, ſuſpect thy own judgment and ſtrength, and beg his wiſdom to teach thee, and his ſtrength to aſſiſt thee, and lean not to thy own underſtanding.

Again: The conſideration of the preſence of God is of ſingular uſe in all thy *duties of piety and charity:* in the doing of them it will cleanſe thy heart from hypocriſy, becauſe thou art before the God that ſearcheth the heart, and accordingly accepteth of the action. It will keep thee from unſeemlineſs and want of reverence, becauſe the Lord of Heaven and Earth is preſent and an eye-witneſs to all the deportment of the body and ſoul. It will keep thee from ſluggiſhneſs, formality and deadneſs of heart, becauſe he ſtands by thee that ſees not as man ſees. It will keep thee from pride and vain glory: it will make thy heart ſincere, reverent, watchful, earneſt and humble in all thou doſt, becauſe as he that ſtands by thee requires all this in all thy duties, ſo theſe affections or habits of the ſoul become the creature that knows he is in the preſence of the glorious and infinite God, that ſearcheth the hearts, and ſees the actions. And as in thy duties it will fit thee for them, ſo after thy duties it will comfort thee in them. Hath thy heart been truly humbled in his preſence for any ſin, for which thou haſt begged pardon, and mingled the blood and interceſſion of thy Saviour with thy prayers? Haſt thou been upon thy knees before him for any thing neceſſary for thy ſoul, body, or relations? Haſt thou endeavoured, by a ſerious meditation, to conſider of Divine Truths? Haſt thou examined the ſtate of thy ſoul and of thy life, and upon there view thereof taken up reſolutions of amendment of what is amiſs, and perſevering and increaſing in what is agreeable to his will? Haſt thou ſought out to relieve thoſe that are in want, to recompenſe thoſe that thou haſt injured, to advance the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt? Haſt thou been doing any thing that is the duty of thy general calling as thou art a Chriſtian, or that particular calling or employment

employment into which God's providence hath caſt thee? And can thy heart bear thee witneſs, that in all this thou haſt endeavoured with all ſincerity, as in the preſence of God, to walk and act in obedience to him, and with a clear and upright heart and conſcience? Be ſure thy heart cannot more clearly evidence itſelf to thyſelf than it doth to God; and God was all this while preſent with thee, beholding of thee; there is not one grain of the ſincerity and integrity of any of theſe thy actions, not one tear, not one thought of thy heart loſt, but moſt exactly obſerved and weighed by him that weigheth the Spirits, and they ſhall not return unto thee empty. 'Thy prayers and thy alms 'are come up for a memorial before God [1].'

3. The *truth and unchangeableneſs of God.* He is unchangeable in his nature. 'They ſhall be changed, 'but thou art the ſame [2].' 'I am the Lord, I change 'not, therefore ye ſons of Jacob are not conſumed [3].' 'The Father of lights, with whom is no variableneſs 'nor ſhadow of turning [4].' And from this immutability of his eſſences flows the truth of his Word in his Covenant, in his Promiſes, in his Threatnings, in his Works. 'The works of his hands are verity and 'judgment, and all his Commandments are ſure. [5]' And the very variety of his diſpenſations of mercy and juſtice to the children of men, ariſeth from the very unchangeable nature of God, even from the very firſt creation until now. 'If thou doſt well, ſhalt thou 'not be accepted? and if thou doſt not well, ſin lieth 'at the door [6];' which is the very ſame rule whereby God juſtifies the equality of his ways; 'Is not my way 'equal? are not your ways unequal? When a righte-'ous man turneth away from his righteouſneſs, and 'committeth iniquity, and dieth in them, for his 'iniquity that he hath done he ſhall die. Again, 'When the wicked man turneth away from his wicked-neſs,' &c. 'he ſhall ſave his ſoul alive [7];' which is

[1] Acts x. 4. [2] Pſal. cii. 27. [3] Mal. iii. 6. [4] James i. 17.
[5] Pſal. cxi. 7. [6] Gen. iv. 7. [7] Ezek. xviii. 25, 26, 27.

but the ſame under the Goſpel. 'Who will render 'to every man according to his deeds[1].' Though the great God be abſolute Lord of his creatures to do with them what he pleaſeth, yet the various conditions of his creatures in the courſe of judgments and mercies, are not from any change in God, but in us: it is the ſame holineſs and purity of God that is uniform and conſtant to itſelf, that works theſe different effects upon the creature; as the ſame uniform heat of the ſun works ſeeming contrary effects, according to the diverſity of the ſubject; ſo that his ways are ſtill equal, ſtraight and righteous. And this conſideration, as it may ſtrengthen our hearts in the promiſes of God, ſo it will make the hiſtories of *the Book of God* of ſingular uſe to us upon all occaſions, when we ſhall ſay with David, 'I will remember the years of the right hand 'of the Moſt High: I will remember the works of the 'Lord: I will remember thy wonders of old[2];' and together with it conſider that the ſame Lord that did thus or thus in former times, is the ſame God yeſterday, to day, and for ever. And by this conſideration every Hiſtory in the Book of God is as a meaſure for all the preſent or future concernments of myſelf and others, and will teach me how to behave myſelf in the like occaſions, and to judge even of future events. In the paſſages of nature we ſee a wonderful order and conſtancy for the moſt part; for all things conform themſelves to thoſe rules which God hath put into them; and that is the beſt and higheſt reſolution we can give for them; for when we come to make a particular inquiry into the particular cauſes of thoſe things, there is not the eaſieſt part of his work, and that which long and conſtant continuance hath made obvious to all men, but the wiſeſt of men, notwithſtanding all theſe advantages, are puzzled and confounded in; becauſe the God of Nature hath not revealed it to men. 'His way is in the ſea, and 'his path in the great waters, and his footſteps are not

[1] Rom. ii. 6. [2] Pſal. lxxvii. 10.

'known

known [1].' There we ſee a certainty, but we cannot find the immediate inſtrument or cauſe of it: but in the paſſages of mankind we are not to ſeek for any certainty at all, or the cauſes of that uncertainty, which made the wiſe man conclude that God had ſet the one againſt the other, that men ſhould find nothing after him [2], which is moſt certainly true as to a bare natural or rational obſervation: yet even theſe works of God are ſought out of all them that have pleaſure in them [3], and though his judgments are a great deep [4], unſearchable and paſt finding out [5], till he is pleaſed to diſcover them; yet he is ſtill unchangeable, and the ſame yeſterday, and to day, and for ever. So much even of thoſe ſecret ways towards men, as is expedient for our knowledge and uſe, he hath diſcovered in his Book to thoſe that will diligently obſerve it: Thus, 'The ſecret of the Lord is with them that fear him [6].' The moſt of the varieties that happen to the children of men do ariſe from the immutability of God in his purity and in his juſtice. If a ſtraight line be drawn parallel to another, though they be infinitely extended, they will keep the ſame diſtance one from another; but if the line be crooked, it will be in ſome places nearer, ſome places farther off, and it may be will croſs the ſtraight line. God hath given to man a liberty of his will, and ſo long as his will, and the actions of his will, ran parallel in a ſtraight line to the will of God, there was ſtill a communication of good from God to his creature: but when man choſe crooked ways, he is drawn thereby ſometimes away from God, and ſo is removed from his bleſſings and communion; ſometimes it croſſeth and thwarts him, and then it meets with his wrath and vengeance. And this muſt needs be ſo, unleſs we ſhould, with the preſumptuous fool in the Pſalmiſt [7], think that God is ſuch a one as ourſelves, and his will as crooked as ours. If a bare reaſonable man had looked upon the ſtate of the Jews

[1] Pſal. lxxvii. 19. [2] Eccles. vii. 14. [3] Pſal. cxi. 2. [4] Pſal. xxxvi. 6. [5] Rom. xi. 33. [6] Pſal. xxv. 14. [7] Pſal. l. 21.

from the time of their going out of Egypt until their final captivity, he would eaſily ſee as much variety as in any ſtate of men, and perhaps ſee as little cauſe for it: but yet that very changeableneſs of their condition doth moſt admirably ſet forth the immutability of God, and inſtruct us how to judge of things and men. They were a people in covenant with him, and he was pleaſed to enter into covenant with them; and ſo long as they kept to their undertaking, not one tittle of all his promiſe failed them. But when they once forſook him he warns, and if they repent not he forſakes them; if they walk contrary to him, he walks contrary to them; and if after all this they return and repent, he returns to them. See Pſal. cvi. cvii. the abbreviation of their viciſſitudes. And when at laſt they were wholly corrupted, then the wrath of God aroſe, and there was no remedy. All theſe vaieties juſtify the equality and evenneſs of the ways of God: and manifeſt the crookedneſs and inequality of the ways of men.

And is God the ſame now that he was then? his ways then are the ſame now that they were then. Art thou one that haſt entered into covenant with God? beware thou keep to it, and walk humbly with thy God; if not, be ſure thou ſhalt meet with the like meaſure as his people of old did; his juſtice is the ſame ſtill, he will ſcourge thee with the rod of men, though if thou haſt a heart to return, he will not utterly take his loving kindneſs from thee. And haſt thou met with the fruit of this ſin in a temporal puniſhment? conſider it is an evil thing and a bitter to depart from the Living God. What madeſt thou wander from thy ſtrength and thy ſafety as well as thy covenant and thy duty? What couldſt thou expect to find when thou ſtruggleſt from him, but that ſome evil ſhould overtake thee? Get home again as faſt as thou canſt; and as thou haſt found that he is the ſame God of juſtice that ever he was; ſo thou ſhalt find that he is the ſame God of Mercy and tenderneſs, upon returning,

ing, that ever he was. 'And he remembered for them 'his covenant, and repented according to the multi-'tude of his mercies [1].'

It is true, the ſame thing may befall ſeveral men, or one man at ſeveral times, and yet they may be of different natures; one may be a chaſtiſement, another may be a trial, and another may be a favour: it is according as the thing ſent hath its commiſſion from him that ſends it. If it be a chaſtiſement, it is not without a ſting. If it be a trial, it is not without an iſſue. If it be a favour, it is not without a great meaſure of comforts mingled with it.

1. A *chaſtiſement* for a ſin paſt carries with it the poiſon and malignity of the ſin which cauſes it; as the fruit carries the nature of that ſeed from whence it grows. 'Thy way and thy doings have procured 'theſe things unto thee: this is thy wickedneſs be-'cauſe it is bitter [2].' 'The affliction taſted of the ſin [3].' 'Mine iniquities have taken hold upon me [4].' 'There 'is no reſt in my bones becauſe of my ſin [5].' And this, like the trumpet in the mount, waxeth louder and louder, and prayers for deliverance prove fruitleſs, though they come from a *Joſhua* [6], till the accurſed thing be ſought out; for till then the meſſage that the affliction brings is not received, and it will not give over vexing the man till it hath done his errand. When a man begins to examine his ways, and finds out the root of his trouble, and humbles himſelf before God for his ſin, then, and not till then, can he expect a deliverance. When *David* [7] had run over the catalogue of his ſufferings, his prayer for deliverance was never ſeaſonable [8], till he had undertaken confeſſion and repentance of his ſin [9]. If upon the gentle admonitions of the Almighty in the conſcience, a man liſtens not,

[1] Pſal. cvi. 45. [2] Jer. xxi. 14. [3] Jer. iv. 18. [4] Pſal. xl. 12.
[5] Pſal. xxxviii. 3. [6] Joſh. vii. 10. [7] Pſal. xxxviii.
[8] Pſal. xxxviii. 22. [9] Pſal. xxxviii. 18.

he hath a meſſenger ſent to him that will be heard. 'Then he openeth the ear of man[1];' and it may be by a diſeaſe in his body, or ſome other affliction, and he ſtands by to ſee how this meſſage is entertained. 'And if any ſay, I have ſinned and perverted what 'was right, and it profited me not, then he will deli-'ver his ſoul[2],' &c. A chaſtiſement for a ſin hath at the ſame time an act of juſtice, as it looks backward to the ſin, and an act of mercy, as it looks forward to an amendment: and the latter is the principal end of God in it; and therefore with the repentance either the chaſtiſement is..... if immanent[3], or if tranſient and paſt, is ſweetened with a ſenſe of God's reconciliation.

2. If it be a *trial*, that carries with it his meſſage; for if upon an impartial inquiry, a man cannot find any eminent ſin unrepented of, yet it pleaſeth God to lay his hand upon him; yet it brings theſe leſſons with it: 1. To acknowledge the juſtice of God for all this. It is ſomewhat ſtrange that *Job* could ſo much juſtify himſelf againſt his ſufferings, and yet was made to poſſeſs the ſins of his youth. Thoſe little ſins, which were paſſed twenty or thirty years ſince, and had all the extenuations of the infirmity of nature, have malignity enough in them to deſerve thoſe ſufferings that thou now art under; and it was the patience of God towards thee that they were thus long before they bore their fruit, when thou art in a better condition to make uſe of the puniſhment, than thou wert ſhortly after their commiſſion: and it may be thy repentance, even for thoſe long paſt tranſgreſſions, was not particular or deep enough, and it is no loſs of time or labour to thee to mourn again over thy ſtale tranſgreſſions: but howſoever let it be thy care to ſearch thyſelf, it will make thee better acquainted with thyſelf. If thou find a ſin not deeply enough ſorrowed for, thy affliction hath deſerved well at thy hands; and if thou find it not, yet thy affliction is well recom-

[1] Job xxxiii. 16. Job xxvii. 8. [3] permanent.

penſed,

penſed, by giving thee an opportunity to diſcover that to thyſelf, which contents thy conſcience more valuably than thy affliction hath done thee prejudice. 2. To acknowledge the Sovereignty of God, and to ſubmit to his will with an obedient patience: 'It is the Lord, 'let him do what ſeemeth him good [1].' 'I was dumb 'and opened not my mouth, becauſe thou didſt it [2].' 'Behold, as the clay is in the hand of the potter, ſo 'are ye in my hands [3].' Though thou canſt not ſee a cauſe for thy afflictions that might ſignally deſerve it, nor canſt ſee an end it; yet thou canſt not chooſe but find a uſe of it to teach thee with wiſdom to acknowledge, and with patience to ſubmit unto the moſt juſtly unlimited power and authority of the Almighty God over the work of his own hands, and to put thy mouth in the duſt, and to wait for him and upon him [4], till he give an expected end [5]. 3. To depend and reſt upon his mercy and goodneſs for deliverance from, or ſtrength and comfort in thy affliction. As the creature is eſſentially dependent upon God, ſo it is its duty and perfection; and he uſeth the abſence of external confidences and comforts, upon which we are moſt apt to reſt, to call man to his duty, to fix his heart upon him [6]. External confidences many times rob God of that Love and that dependence we owe to him, and if the loſs or want of them ſend thy love and confidence to him, to whom it belongs, thou art no loſer by thy loſs. 4. To walk more ſtrictly and vigilantly with God. Though thou canſt not upon thy examination find a cauſe of thy croſs, that may eminently diſcover itſelf in it, yet thou canſt not chuſe but know thou art far ſhort of that duty and degree of perfection in thy heart and life, which by that aſſiſtance of his grace that thou haſt, thou mayeſt arrive unto: thy affliction, though it put thee not in mind of any notable ſin, which ſhould humble thee, it may very well put thee in mind of thy neglects and want of in-

[1] Sam. iii. 18. [2] Pſalm xxxix. 9. [3] Jer. xviii. 6.
[4] James iii. [5] Jer. xxix. 11. [6] Pſalm cxii. 7.

tention in thy duty. 5. Though thy diſeaſe needs not this phyſic to cure thee, yet thy corruption needs it to prevent thee: thou haſt within thee a fountain of corruptions, that, were they not reſtrained or allayed, would upon a ſmall opportunity turn to a deſperate diſeaſe in thy ſoul; and thoſe corruptions of thine live and feed upon external ſuperfluities and ſupplies; and the wiſe God foreſees it may be, that in a month or two, or more or leſs, thy full enjoyments would ripen this or that corruption into a diſtemper, that might be dangerous, if not fatal to thy ſoul; and he ſends this meſſenger to abate, or allay, or divert, or croſs, or weaken this corruption, to put in a little wormwood into thy ſweet cup, that thou mayeſt take it with more moderation, and not ſo greedily; to throw ſome dirt upon thy ſelf-opinion or growing pride, that may ſpoil the growth of it; to give a check to thy deſires of external wealth or greatneſs, which without it would in a little time ſwell into a ſtark ambition or covetouſneſs. The Evangeliſt tells us, that 'All that is in 'the world is the luſt of the fleſh, the luſt of the eyes, 'and the pride of life:' that is, thoſe luſts that are in us faſten upon their ſuitable objects in the world, and upon them they live and grow ſtrong, and are thereby the better enabled to fight againſt our ſouls; and God ſhews as much mercy when he takes away their food, and ſtarves them by an affliction, as when he pardons them: therefore learn by thy affliction the mind of God in this alſo; and bleſs him as well for an affliction that prevents thee from ſin, as for one that leads thee to repentance. 6. It may be God hath ſome extraordinary work to do for thee or by thee, prepares thee by thoſe afflictions with humility, that thou mayeſt be a fit inſtrument for his glory, or a fit veſſel for his bounty: a ſudden acceſs of greatneſs, or wealth, or power, or eminence is apt to make thy nature ſwell and look big and deny God [1], therefore he prepares thee with the ſenſe of his hand to ſhew how he can, when

[1] Prov. xxx. 9.

he

he pleaſeth, handle thee with the experience of the benefit of dependance upon him, with a condition that may teach thee to walk humbly with him: otherwiſe thou wilt not be able to bear and to manage that condition he intends to put thee in, with moderation, with his fear, with an eye unto him and to his glory. Thus he prepared *David* for the Crown, *Job* for Wealth, the People of *Iſrael* for *Canaan*, that they might receive and uſe it with thankfulneſs, as from his hand; with ſobriety and faithfulneſs, as in his preſence. 7. Howſoever it is of moſt certain and univerſal uſe to take off thy love from this world; to preſent it to thee as it is; to take thee off from ſetting up tabernacles and thy reſt here, and to carry thy thoughts and thy deſires to thy home and to thy country, and to make the remembrance of it frequent and ſweet, and that upon which thou reckoneſt; to make thy paſſage through death eaſy and comfortable, when thou ſhalt conſider ſuch thoughts as theſe: 'I am in a body full 'of pains and weakneſſes and diſeaſes, ſo that I have 'much ado to keep up my cottage to be comfortable 'or uſeful to me, but am buſied every day to un-'derprop it and repair it, that it fall not; and when 'I have done my beſt, yet old age will come, and 'that will be an irreparable decay; and my anxious 'life will moſt ſurely be attended with a certain death; 'I live in a world full of labour at the beſt, to pro-'vide neceſſaries for my ſupport in a world full of 'troubles, dangers, and calumnies. If my outward 'contentments increaſe, yet my cares and my fears 'increaſe with them: but my condition is not ſuch, 'but with the Pſalmiſt I have cauſe to ſay, 'All the 'day long have I been plagued and chaſtened every 'morning [1]:' and, like *Noah's* dove, I can find here 'no reſt for the ſole of my foot. My walk here is 'like a pilgrimage, and my path is not plain and eaſy, 'but narrow, and deep, and troubleſome; on either 'hand of me I paſs through the ſcorns and injuries 'and vexation of the men of this world; who, if I

[1] Pſalm lxxiii. 14.

'want,

'want, will not relieve me, and if I have any thing, they 'are ready to tear it from me; and my way, which of 'itself is thus troubleſome, is accompanied with ſtorms, 'and ſtumbling blocks, and fiery aſſaults raiſed by 'the prince of this world; and if I take up a lodging 'by the way, it is neither a pleaſing nor a ſafe 'lodging; my dangers and difficulties are greater in 'my inn than they are in my journey. To what pur- 'poſe go I about to ſet up my reſt, or to build taber- 'nacles here? The time I can ſtay will be but ſhort, 'and my ſhort ſtay in ſuch a world as this cannot be 'pleaſing nor comfortable; and this is not my home, 'but I ſee it at a diſtance, I find it as it were in land- 'ſcapes [1], the tabernacle of God, where he ſhall wipe 'away all tears from mine eyes, and there ſhall be no 'more death, neither ſorrow nor crying, neither ſhall 'there be any more pain: and then theſe my light af- 'flictions, which are here but for a moment, ſhall be 'rewarded with an eternal weight of glory. In the 'confidence and ſtrength of this expectation I will hold 'on my troubleſome journey with cheerfulneſs, and 'look upon this world as the place of my pilgrimage, 'not of my reſt; and the unpleaſingneſs of my pilgri- 'mage ſhall heighten, if it be poſſible, the expectation as 'well as the fruition of my home; and the more unwel- 'come the world is to me, and I to it, the more ſhall 'my heart undervalue and diſeſteem it, and ſend forth 'my deſires the more earneſtly for my journey's end, 'teach me to welcome death, and to deſire to be diſ- 'ſolved and to be with Chriſt, which is beſt of all.'

3. Sometimes external troubles are in themſelves an expreſs token of the love of God, and they carry with them comfort and delight; namely, when it is a perſecution for Righteouſneſs ſake; and in thoſe both the precepts of Chriſt and the pattern of his diſciples command us up to rejoicing; 'Rejoice and 'be exceeding glad [2].' 'Count it all joy [3].' 'Rejoicing 'that they were accounted worthy to ſuffer ſhame for his

[1] Revel. xxi. [2] Matt. v. 10, 11, 12. [3] James i. 2.

name!'

'name[1]!' 'Who now rejoice in my ſufferings for 'you, and fill up that which is behind of the afflictions 'of Chriſt in my fleſh[2].'

4. The fourth conſideration is of *the Mercy of God:* and therein, 1. His patience and forbearing mercy while we are in our ſins: 2. His clemency and forgiving mercy upon our repentance: 3. His bounty and rewarding mercy in the whole courſe of our lives and hopes.

1. The *Patience, Long-ſuffering, and Forbearance* of God from our infancy; God leads us as once he did *Ephraim*[3], teaching us to go, and taking us by the arm, but we know it not; and bears with the frowardneſs, and peeviſhneſs, and ſtubbornneſs, and wantonneſs of our youth: and when we come to our riper age, he plants us with the choiceſt vine, with the inſtruction of his Word and Providence; and now he doth, as juſtly he may, expect grapes, and we bring forth no grapes, or wild ones[4]; and now how juſt were it for him to pull up the hedge of it, and command the clouds that they rain no rain upon it; or to lay upon it that ſad curſe, 'Never fruit grow on thee 'more[5]?' But he doth not thus, but expects a ſecond, and a third, and a fourth year[6], and uſes all means to mend this unfruitful and unprofitable plant; uſeth line upon line and precept upon precept; and if his Word, nor the ſecret whiſpers of his Grace will not do[7], he uſeth a ſharper and louder meſſenger; he ſpeaks that he may not ſtrike, and if he ſtrikes, it is unwillingly[8], and that he may not deſtroy; and deſtroys, nor rejects not, till his ſtrokes prove fruitleſs: 'Why ſhould 'ye be ſtricken any more[9]:' till there be no remedy. He endures with long-ſuffering, even the veſſels ordained to wrath[10]; his ſpirit did ſtrive with the old world[11], was grieved forty years with the paſſages of a rebellious people[12], preſſed with our ſins as a cart

[1] Acts v. 41. [2] Coloss. i. 24. [3] Hos. xi. 3.
[4] Isa. v. 2, 4. [5] Matt. xxi. 19. [6] Luke xiii. 8.
[7] Job xxxiii. 4. [8] Lam. iii. 33. [9] Isa. i. 5.
[10] Rom. ix. 22. [11] Gen. vi. 3. [12] Psal. xcv. 10.

under

under ſheaves [1], and yet no final deſtruction. That admirable expoſtulation of God's merciful patience, 'How ſhall I give thee up, Ephraim? how ſhall I 'deliver thee Iſrael? how ſhall I make thee as Admah? 'how ſhall I ſet thee as Zeboim? mine heart is turned 'within me, my repentings are kindled together, I 'will not execute the fierceneſs of mine anger, I will 'not return to deſtroy Ephraim, I am God and not 'man [2].' As if he ſhould have ſaid, It is true thou art *Ephraim* and *Israel*, a People that I have only known of all the families of the earth [3], a people that I have choſen, and thou art called by my name; but by how much the nearer thou art unto me, by ſo much the greater is thy ingratitude. That, which in another people would be a ſin, is in thee rebellion and apoſtacy. *Admah* and *Zeboim* were a people that knew me not, that never entered into covenant with me; they had no light to guide them but that of nature; and when they ſinned, my wrath broke out in the moſt eminent judgment that ever was heard of: but thou haſt been a vine of my own planting, and watering, and dreſſing, and yet thy fruit hath been the fruit of *Sodom*: thou haſt made me to ſerve with thy ſins, and according to the number of thy cities were thy Gods, O *Israel*: 'Hear, O Heavens, and give ear, O Earth, for the 'Lord hath ſpoken; I have nouriſhed and brought 'up children, and they have rebelled againſt me [4]; And 'ſhould I not be avenged upon ſuch a people as this? How can I? How can I not make thee as *Admah*, and ſet thee as *Zeboim*? If a man, as thou art, ſhould but once ſhew but a grain of that ingratitude unto thee, which thou multiplieſt towards me days without number, thy revenges would be as high as thy power, and thou wouldeſt juſtify thy ſevereſt dealings with him; nay, if I thy Lord, that can owe thee nothing but wrath, ſhould withdraw but any of my own bleſſings from thee, thou art ready to throw off all, and preſently to

[1] Amos ii. 13. [2] Hos. xi. 8. [3] Amos iii. 2.
[4] Isa. i. 2.

upbraid

upbraid me with thy unuſeful ſervices: 'What profit 'have I if I be cleanſed from my ſins[1]? And how canſt thou after all this expect any thing from me, but that my wrath ſhould burn againſt thee like fire, till thou wert conſumed, and that I ſhould ſtir up all the fury of my jealouſy towards you? O, but *Ephraim*, I am God, and not man, and therefore ye Sons of *Jacob* are not conſumed: my mercy and my patience are not the narrow qualities or habits of a mortal man, but the infinite attributes of an infinite God. Though I can ſee nothing in thee, but what deſerves my wrath, I can find that in myſelf, that ſend sout my compaſſion, a heart turned by returning upon my own mercy, and repentings kindled upon the conſiderations of my own covenant with thy fathers, kindled by a ſacrifice that thou little thinkeſt of, even the ſacrifice of my own Son: I will not therefore execute the fierceneſs of my anger. Although it be thy duty to repent, ſinner, yet I will repent of my wrath even before thou repent of thy ſin: it may be my long-ſuffering will, as it ſhould do, lead thee to repentance[2]: But if after all this thou deſpiſeſt the riches of my goodneſs and forbearance and long-ſuffering, know that thou treaſureſt up unto thyſelf wrath againſt the day of wrath; and that day will ſurely find thee; and then thou wilt find that every day's forbearance and patience, that thou haſt had and abuſed, hath ripened and improved thy guilt; and made thy ſin out of meaſure ſinful, and will add weight and fire to my wrath, which like a talent of lead, ſhall everlaſtingly lye upon that treaſure of thy ſin and guilt.

2. His *pardoning Mercy*. Thoſe tender and pathetical expreſſions of God's mercy, in pardoning ſin upon repentance and turning to him, carry more weight than it is poſſible for our ſpirits to ariſe unto. 'Come 'now, and let us reaſon together: though your ſins 'were as ſcarlet, they ſhall be as white as ſnow; 'though they be red as crimſon, they ſhall be like

[1] Job xxxv. 3. [2] Rom. ii. 4.

'wool.'

A DISCOURSE OF RELIGION.

PART I.

THE ENDS AND USES OF IT,

AND

THE ERRORS OF MEN TOUCHING IT.

TRUE religion is the greateſt improvement, advantage, and privilege of Human Nature; and that which gives it the nobleſt and higheſt pre-eminence above other viſible creatures.

We may obſerve in many brute beaſts and birds, admirable inſtincts, dexterities, and ſagacities; and in ſome of them ſome dark reſemblances of reaſon, or ratiocination; but Religion is ſo appropriate to the human nature, that there are ſcarce any ſort of men, but have ſome Religion; nor do the moſt ſubtle or ſagacious brutes afford any ſigns thereof, as communicated to their natures.

It is one of the chiefeſt mercies and bleſſings that Almighty God hath afforded to the children of men, and that which ſignally manifeſts his providential care towards and over them, that in all ages and among all nations he hath given to them ſome means and helps to diſcover unto them, though in different degrees, ſome principal ſentiments of true religion: 1. By the ſecret characters, and impreſſions, and ſtructures thereof in their minds and conſciences. 2. By his glorious and

and admirable works, commonly called the Works of Nature. 3. By ſignal providences, and providential regiment [1] of the world. 4. By raiſing up men in all ages, of great wiſdom, obſervation, and learning, which did inſtruct the more ignorant in this great concernment, the rudiments of natural Religion. 5. By traditionary tranſmiſſion of many important truths and directions of life, from anceſtors to their poſterity, and others; though in proceſs of time evil cuſtoms and evil men did, in a great meaſure, impair and corrupt the ſentiments and practices of men, notwithſtanding theſe helps. Therefore the ſame mercy and goodneſs of God, for the preſervation and propagation of the true Religion, was pleaſed to ſubſtitute a more fixed and permanent means; namely, the *Holy Scriptures*, or *Divine Revelations*, committed to writing in the books of the Old and New Teſtament. Though the Religion delivered in both Teſtaments, be in ſubſtance the ſame; yet the true Religion was more fully, and plainly, and diſtinctly delivered by Chriſt and his Apoſtles in the New Teſtament, together alſo with ſome additional inſtructions, for the better preſervation and propagation thereof to mankind, and divers additional evidences to prove and manifeſt the truth of this Religion, to procure its belief and acceptation: as the *birth*, *miracles*, *death*, *reſurrection* and *Aſcenſion* of Chriſt Jeſus, the great reformer of the *Jewiſh*, and great Inſtitutor of the Chriſtian Religion, ſo called from Chriſt, that taught and aſſerted it. The Chriſtian Religion is the moſt perfect rule of our duty to God, ourſelves and others; and was deſigned principally for theſe great ends:

1. To *reſtore* to the glorious God, the honour, duty, and obedience of his creature, Man; teaching him to know, to glorify, and ſerve his Creator; to be thankful to him, to ſubmit to his Will, to obey his Law and Command, to be thankful for his mercies, to acknowledge him in all his ways, to call upon him, to worſhip him, to depend upon him, to walk ſincerely in his

[1] government

'wool [1].' 'Thou haſt made me to ſerve with thy ſins, 'thou haſt wearied me with thine iniquities; I, even 'I am he that blotteth out thy tranſgreſſions for mine 'own ſake, and will not remember thy ſins [2].' 'Let 'the wicked forſake his way, and the unrighteous man 'his thoughts, and let him return unto the Lord, and he 'will have mercy upon him, and to our God, for he 'will abundantly pardon; for my thoughts are not 'your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways; for 'as the Heavens are higher than the Earth, ſo are my 'ways higher than your ways [3].' 'Go, and proclaim theſe 'words: Return thou backſliding Iſrael, and I will not 'cauſe mine anger to fall upon you, for I am merci-'ful, ſaith the Lord, and will not keep anger for ever, 'only acknowledge thine iniquity, &c. [4].'

[1] Iſa. i. 18. [2] Iſa. xliii. 24, 25. [3] Iſa. lv. 9. [4] Jer. iii. 12.

A DIS-

A DISCOURSE OF RELIGION,

IN THREE PARTS.

PART I.

THE ENDS AND USES OF IT, AND THE ERRORS OF MEN TOUCHING IT.

PART II.

THE LIFE OF RELIGION, AND SUPERADDITIONS TO IT.

PART III.

THE SUPERSTRUCTIONS UPON IT, AND ANIMOSITIES ABOUT IT.

not ſo difficult a buſineſs to perform an Evangelical obedience to the precepts of the Goſpel; I ſay an *Evangelical Obedience*, though not a *perfect obedience*; an obedience that is *ſincere*, though many times *weak*; and failings, which nevertheleſs are forgiven, and their ſincere though imperfect obedience accepted by Almighty God, through the merits and interceſſion of Chriſt, and our own humiliation and ſincere repentance for our failings.

And, 4. That when all is done, in *this belief* and *this obedience* conſiſts our Chriſtian Religion. This is the 'one thing neceſſary,' the *magnum oportet*, which is of higheſt concernment and greateſt importance to mankind.

But now if we do but look about us in the world, and obſerve and conſider the matters wherein men for the moſt part do place Religion, we ſhall find quite another kind of rate and nature of Religion than what Chriſt inſtituted or intended, and yet all veiled and ſhrouded under the name of *Chriſtia nReligion*; and greater weight and ſtreſs laid upon them than upon the true, real, grand imports of Chriſtian Religion.

I. I ſhall begin with the ſubtilties of great ſcholars, ſchoolmen, and ſcholaſtic divines. Theſe have turned Chriſtian Religion into a moſt curious and difficult ſpeculation, and that which was deſigned by Chriſt Jeſus as a plain direction to every capacity, to be a guide to a righteous, holy, and ſober life here, and to attain everlaſting life hereafter, they have [made] a mere exerciſe of wit, and a piece of greater ſubtilty than the abſtruſeſt philoſophy or metaphyſics. And this they have done principally theſe ways:

1. By diſputes about queſtions, that, as they are not in themſelves neceſſary to be known, ſo they are in their own nature impoſſible for human underſtandings to determine: as, for inſtance, many, if not all, the points controverted between the *Arminians* and *Calviniſts*, as touching the manner of the decrees of God, what kind of influence he hath upon the wills of men.

The

The manner of the Divine Knowledge of things future, contingent, or poſſible; the reſiſtibility or irreſiſtibility of Divine Grace; the nature of eternity, and infinitude, and indiviſibility; the manner of the exiſtence of the three perſons in the unity of eſſence; the nature of angels and ſpirits; the manner and degrees, and method of their knowledge of things; their ſeveral ranks and orders; and infinite more ſpeculations and diſputes of things that do not in their own nature fall under the diſcovery of a human underſtanding, by the ordinary courſe of ratiocination, and are impoſſible to be known further than they are diſtinctly revealed by Almighty God, and, as it were, induſtriouſly kept ſecret by Almighty God, becauſe they are not of uſe to mankind to be known. It is far more poſſible for a child of three years old to have a true conception of the moſt abſtruſe points in philoſophy, or in the myſtical reaſons of ſtate or politic government of a kingdom, than for the wiſeſt man that ever was, without revelation from God, to have any tolerable conception or notion of things of this nature, with any tolerable certainty or evidence.

2. Again, there are other points diſputed which are of a lower allay, and yet not to be diſtinctly known without more clear revelation than we yet have of it, nor yet of any neceſſity for us diſtinctly to know: As, for inſtance, concerning the *Nature and Manner of Tranſmiſſion of Original Sin: How far* the ſins of *immediate or remote parents* affect their *poſterity* with *guilt or puniſhment:* The *origination of the Human Soul*; How far the efficacy of the *ſacrifice of Chriſt was intentionally for all men:* Concerning the means of Communication thereof to Infants, Ideots, and the invincible ignorant: What is the *real conſequence of Baptiſm of Infants*, or its *omiſſion:* How far the *Will of Man* is *operative* to his *converſion*, or *perſeverance:* Wherein the *formal* nature of *Juſtification* conſiſts: How far forth *Faith ſingly* is ſufficient for it without *ſanctification* and *habitual holineſs* at

laſt; and how far forth the *ſincere Love of God*, by a perſon invincibly ignorant of many or moſt points of Chriſtian Religion, is *ſufficient* thereunto: Concerning the *Eſtate of the ſeparate Soul* before the *laſt Judgment*, and how far it enjoys the *beatifical* viſion before the *Reſurrection*.

Diſputes touching theſe and the like difficult queſtions, have blown up mens' fancies with ſpeculations inſtead of filling their hearts with the true and genuine effects of Chriſtian Religion.

It is true, that phyſicians and naturaliſts do and may make inquiries into the method and progreſs of generation, and digeſtion, and ſanguification, and the motions of the chile, the blood, the humours: for, 1. They have means of acceſs to the diſcovery thereof, by diſſection and obſervation. And, 2. It is of ſome uſe to them in their ſcience, and the exerciſe thereof. But when all is done, a man of a ſound conſtitution digeſts his meat, and his blood circulates, and his ſeveral veſſels and entrails perform their offices, though he know not diſtinctly the methods of their motions and operations. But theſe ſpeculations above-mentioned, in points of Divinity, as they are not poſſible to be diſtinctly determined with any certainty, ſo they are of little uſe to be known.

If the heart be ſeaſoned with the true knowledge of the things that are revealed, and with the life of the Chriſtian Religion, and the love of God, it will be effectual enough to order his life, and bring him to everlaſting happineſs, though he be not, like an exquiſite anatomiſt, acquainted with a diſtinct comprehenſion or knowledge of the ſeveral difficult inquiries of this nature. Believe what is required by the Word of God to be believed, and do your duty as by that Word is directed; ſo that the life of religion, and the love of God be once ſet on foot in the ſoul, and there nouriſhed, and commit yourſelf to the faithfulneſs and goodneſs of God, and this will be effectual to the great

great end of Religion, though all theſe diſputes be laid aſide.

3. Again, a third miſchief of *ſcholaſtics* is in relation to *practice:* 1. Some *caſuiſtical divines* have ſo diſtinguiſhed concerning religious external duties, that they have left little practical Religion or morality in the world; and by their ſubtle, curious diſtinctions, have made almoſt every thing lawful; and with the *Phariſees* in the time of our Saviour, have made void the laws of God (and of man alſo) by their traditions and diſtinctions: ſo that Religion towards God, and all righteouſneſs and ſobriety, is ſo thin and narrow, and ſubtle, that by their doctrine of *probability* and *caſuiſtical diſtinctions*, all the bones thereof are looſened. It would be too long to give inſtances in particular: the late velitations [1] in *France* between ſome of the popiſh prieſts and jeſuits, furniſh the world with inſtances enough of this kind.

II. The ſecond inſtance is this, the turning of the greateſt part of Religion into politic contrivances, for attaining or upholding Power, Wealth, or Intereſt.

There have been inſtances, many in this kind, among Secular Princes and States. This was the act of Jeroboam to ſet up idolatrous religion in Samaria, for preventing a return of the ten tribes to the houſe of David. And we may obſerve it in moſt of the Religions eſtabliſhed by heatheniſh princes, which were ſo ordered to accommodate their intereſt, though to the extreme corrupting of natural religion.

But there is not ſo eminent an inſtance thereof in the whole world, as that of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate of the Church of Rome, who have corrupted, as much as in them lies, the moſt pure and innocent Religion that ever the world knew, namely, the Chriſtian Religion, by diſtorting it to ends of wealth and power, and appendicating [2] to it certain new doctrines and practices merely to thoſe ends. And not only ſo, but have laid the greateſt weight of Religion in the obſervations of theſe politic appendications: ſo that a man, that either

[1] controversies. [2] annexing.

queſtions or not obſerves the political additaments, runs as ſevere a cenſure and danger among them, as he that denies the moſt unqueſtionable principles of Chriſtian Religion. Such are their doctrines of the *Pope's ſupremacy*, the *Pope's infallibility*; the *neceſſity to ſalvation* to be of the *Romiſh Church*; the *adoration of* Images, Saints *departed*, and *Angels*; the *veneration* of Reliques; the doctrine of *Purgatory*, *Indulgencies*, and the *Church Treaſury* of *redundant Merits*; the doctrine and practice of *Diſpenſations* and Indulgencies; their *Canonization of Saints*; their *Pilgrimages*, *numerous Ceremonies*, *Theatrical Spectacles*; their doctrine of *Tranſubſtantiation*, and divers other ſuperadditions and appendications to Chriſtian Religion, which any perſon, not captivated by them, may with half an eye perceive to be invented and continued merely for the ſupport of the grandeur of an Univerſal Monarchy, which they miſcall *The Church*, and for the amaſſing of wealth and power for the ſupport of it, as might moſt eaſily be evinced by the particular examination of all thoſe political appendixes.

And yet let any man obſerve it, he ſhall find as great a fervor for the upholding of theſe doctrines and practices, and as great *a jealouſy* of the leaſt breach made upon them, as if the whole concern of Chriſtian Religion, and the ſalvation of ſouls, lay in their belief and obſervance.

III. The third inſtance is in relation to the *Forms* of *Church government* and *ceremonies*. That *Eccleſiaſtical Government* is neceſſary for the preſervation of religion, is evident to any reaſonable and conſiderate man: and that the *Epiſcopal* government conſtituted in *England* is a moſt excellent form of eccleſiaſtical government, and exceeds all other forms of eccleſiaſtical government, may be eaſily evinced; and that it is the beſt adapted to the civil government in this kingdom, is viſible to any intelligent perſon: and yet I do not think that the eſſence of Chriſtian Religion conſiſts in *this* or any *other particular form of government*.

ment. It is a great help to the preſervation of it in its purity and unity, and may be well called *Sepimentum Religionis Chriſtianæ*, as the *Jews* call their oral traditions *Sepimentum Legis*, 'the fence of the law.' But a man may be a good and excellent Chriſtian under this or any other form of eccleſiaſtical government, nay in ſuch places where poſſibly there is no ſettled form of eccleſiaſtical government eſtabliſhed.

But if we obſerve many perſons in the world, we ſhall find ſome ſo highly devoted to this or that particular form of government, as if all the weight of Chriſtian Religion lay in it: though the wiſe and ſober ſort of conformiſts know and profeſs this, yet there be ſome raſh people that will preſently un-church all the reformed churches beyond the ſeas, which are not under Epiſcopal Government. That if they ſee a man, otherwiſe of orthodox principles, of a pious and religious life, yet if ſcrupling ſome points of Eccleſiaſtical Government, though peaceable, they will eſteem him little better than a heathen or publican, a ſchiſmatic, heretic, and what not: on the other ſide, if they ſee a man of great fervor in aſſerting the Eccleſiaſtical Government, obſervant of external ceremonies, though otherwiſe of a looſe and diſſolute life, yet they will be ready to applaud him with the ſtyle of a Son of the Church, and upon that account overlook the miſcarriages of his life, as if the eſſence and life of Chriſtian Religion lay in the bare aſſerting of the beſt form of Eccleſiaſtical Government.

On the other ſide, there is as great an extremity of the other hand: there are many indiſcreet perſons, as well Divines as others, that having either by their education, or by converſation with diſſenters, or poſſibly to gain a party, taken upon them the patronage of aſſerting of ſome other form of Church-Government, either *Preſbyterian* or *Independant*, or ſomething framed by their own invention, preſently cry down the Eſtabliſhed Government of the Church, as Antichriſtian or Popiſh, and cry up that which they have thus eſpouſed as the only true Chriſtian Regiment, inſtituted

ſtituted by Chriſt; and preſently among them, and their followers, this is made the diſcriminative mark of a true Chriſtian; if they ſee a man conformable to the Eſtabliſhed Government, though he be pious, ſober, and truly religious, yet they deſpiſe and neglect him, cenſure him as a formaliſt, and without the power of godlineſs: but if a man will but *revile* the Eſtabliſhed Government, and be bold againſt it, cry it down, and cry up the new inſtitution into which they are liſted, though the man be covetous, uncharitable, hard-hearted, proud, impetuous, and poſſibly otherwiſe looſe in his converſation, yet ſuch a man ſhall be cheriſhed, applauded, and cried up for a ſaint, a precious man, and zealous for the truth.

And although decent ceremonies, that are for the preſervation of the dignity of Religion, and to keep due order and regularity, are not eſſential parts of Chriſtianity, nor were ever ſo eſteemed by wiſe and ſober men, and yet are of uſe and convenience in the Church, nevertheleſs, we may eaſily obſerve among men the ſame extremes as are before noted: ſome placing the whole weight of religion in their ſtrict obſervance, and making them the principal, if not the only badge of a ſon of the church, hating and deſpiſing thoſe that ſcruple any thing in them, or that do not come up in every punctilio to their obſervance, though they be otherwiſe ſound in the principles of faith, pious and ſtrict in their lives, juſt and honeſt to all men, and ſober, temperate, and blameleſs.

On the other ſide, there be a ſort of men that place the greateſt ſtreſs and diſcriminating point of Chriſtian Religion in oppoſing and decrying all inſtituted Ceremonies, though innocent, decent, and without any the leaſt touch of ſuperſtition in them; yet theſe muſt be decried as popiſh, antichriſtian, deſtructive of Chriſtian liberty, and the party that with moſt boldneſs and vehemence declaims againſt them, is valued by them as a moſt precious man, a man of zeal and courage,

courage, and needs little elſe to juſtify and magnify him with his party.

On the other ſide, though a man be of an holy and conſcientious life, ſound in principles, ſober, blameleſs, peaceable; yet if he obſerve theſe blameleſs ceremonies, though with great moderation and charity to diſſenters, he ſhall be ſlighted and undervalued, eſteemed a formaliſt, a time-ſerver, or at beſt a man wanting courage, zeal, lukewarm, timorous, and wanting the power of godlineſs. Such wild and wrong meaſures do men of extremes on all hands take of the true eſſence and ends of Chriſtianity.

IV. Again, even among profeſſors of the Proteſtant Religion, there are divers diſputed and controverted points; as between the *Calviniſts* and *Arminians*, eſpecially touching the *univerſality* of the *redemption* by Chriſt, *perſeverance* and *falling from grace*; and almoſt every day there ariſe certain *new opinions*, ſome of greater importance, but very commonly of ſmall and inconſiderable moment; and theſe are taken up by the ſeveral parties poſſibly agreeing in the ſame fundamentals of Chriſtian Religion. And ſometimes they are entertained by a party of men, becauſe their paſtors are of that opinion, or ſeem to be ſo; though often they are taken up, or inſtilled into a party, to make a diſcriminative mark between perſons of ſeveral congregations. And then it is wonderful to ſee with what fervor each party maintains its tenent, and as great weight is laid upon it, as if the whole ſtreſs of Chriſtian Religion, and the ſalvation of the ſouls of men, lay upon it; when, God knows, they are not of any moment in it.

Such was the old controverſy between the Eaſtern and Weſtern Churches about *Eaſter-day*, and ancienter than that, in the Apoſtles' times, about *eating of meats offered to Idols*; and among us at this day touching the five *Arminian* queſtions. And yet we ſhall ſee men as fervent and zealous about them, as cenſorious of diſſenters from them, as fond of thoſe with the ſame opinion

opinion with them, as if all the articles of the chriſtian faith were immediately concerned in them; when all the while they are not of any moment to the ſalvation of men, nor of any concernment to the Chriſtian Religion, or the ends thereof, but are only artifices impoſed upon men to hold up parties, or to keep up ſome man or parties' reputation: imaginations which men are fond of, becauſe they are their own, at leaſt theirs whom they have in great veneration or eſteem.

V. Again, the fond miſtakes of men in this kind, are obſervable in very ſlight and trivial matters, which yet are entertained with a kind of religious veneration, when they ſerve to hold up parties, or as diſcriminations of their profeſſions. Among the profeſſed *Monks* and *Friars* they have certain habits aſſigned to ſeveral orders, and as well anciently as now, have ſeveral kinds of *tonſures* of their heads, which they obſerve with great ſeverity, and place much religion in them.

And even among the various ſects or perſuaſions among thoſe that leaſt abhor popery, yet we ſhall find ſome ſuch *fond things* upon which they lay a great weight of their religion: ſometimes in very *looks* and compoſing of their countenance; ſometimes in the manner or tone of expreſſions; ſometimes in *affected phraſes*; ſometimes in *geſtures*; ſometimes in *habits* and *dreſſes*; ſometimes in uſe of *meats and drinks* of one kind or another. I ſhall give ſome few inſtances.

You ſhall have ſome that place a great point of religion in forbearing the *eating of fleſh upon Fridays*, or in the time of *Lent*, but yet indulge themſelves oftentimes in the eating of the choiceſt fiſh, and the moſt coſtly diet of other meats: others again think they muſt needs go as far on the other extreme chooſing thoſe ſeaſons for feaſting upon fleſh, and think it acceptable with God, becauſe it runs counter to the other extreme.

Again, a time there was when it was thought that *long hair* was unbecoming profeſſors of Chriſtianity, and upon that account ſome did wear their hair ſhort, even

even to extremity. But about the beginning of the late wars, many took up, as they thought, a more elevated way of Chriſtianity, and as a badge thereof wore their hair extreme long.

The Conformiſts uſually wear gowns or canonical coats: many of the Nonconformiſts, by way of diſcrimination, uſe other habits.

The *former* officiate, as the canons require them, in Surplices, and ſometimes with Hoods; and ſome are ſo taken with it, that they think the offices want an eſſential part when performed without it: ſome of the *latter* think the ſolemn ordinances are profaned by it, and rendered ſuperſtitious.

But among all the differing perſuaſions among us, there are none that give a man more ample evidence of miſtakes of this nature, than thoſe called *Quakers*, who place a great part of their religion in keeping on their hats, in uſing the words *thee* and *thou*, in ſtyling the months and days of the week not according to the uſual appellation, but the firſt or ſecond month, or day; in certain habits and poſtures unlike other men; in ſilent devotions at their public meetings; in *reviling* and *crying down* the Eſtabliſhed Miniſtry, Churches, Sacraments, *Lord's-day*, and all manner of Forms, whether commanded or uſed by others; in refuſing to take an oath, when lawfully called thereunto; and ſome ſuch other ſingularities. Take away but theſe and the like affected ſuperadditions, the men are as other men, ſome indeed very ſober, honeſt, juſt and plain-hearted men, and found in moſt, if not all the important doctrines and practices of Chriſtianity; others (as it happens in all profeſſions) ſubtle, covetous, uncharitable, tumultuous, ignorant, proud, deſpiſers of others, ſlanderers; and yet, as long as they conform to the *ſect* in theſe impertinent or unwarrantable ſingularities, they pleaſe themſelves with the ſtyle of the *People of God*, and are for the moſt part eſteemed ſuch by thoſe of that ſect.

By this little ſurvey, we may eaſily take an eſtimate of

of the miſtakes of mankind, and even among Chriſtians, touching the miſtakes in point of Chriſtianity and Chriſtian Religion, and how common it is to miſplace the *name* of Chriſtian Religion and the *nature* of it, and attribute it to ſuch things as in truth have nothing to do with it, but many times are directly contrary to it.

And yet even in theſe impertinencies many times men place the greateſt moment of their religion, and have as great and many times a greater zeal and fervor for them than for the weighty points and duties of Chriſtianity; and moſt of the buſineſs of many men conſiſts in velitations, and defences, and invectives about them; the pulpits and the preſs are engaged about them. Love, and charity, and even common humanity, and mutual converſation between man and man, church and church, party and party, is broken by the mutual colliſions and animoſities concerning them. So that (the Lord be merciful to us and forgive us) there is as little love, and as great diſtance and animoſity between many of the Diſſenting parties among Proteſtants, touching theſe matters, as there is between Papiſts and Proteſtants, or between Chriſtians and Infidels. And by this means the true life of Chriſtian Religion, and that which was the great end of its inſtitution, and the true genuine and natural effect of it upon the heart and ſoul, and courſe of life, is loſt or neglected by them that profeſs it, or diſparaged among thoſe that either have not entertained it, or at leaſt entertained it as they do the cuſtoms of the country wherein they are educated. Theſe men, when they ſee ſo much religion placed by profeſſors of Chriſtianity in theſe things, which every intelligent man values but as forms, or inventions, or modes, or artifices, and yet as great weight laid upon them, as great fervour and animoſity uſed for or againſt them, as almoſt for any points of Chriſtian Religion, they are preſently apt to cenſure and throw off all religion, and reckon all of the ſame make.

But when all is done, true Chriſtian Religion is a thing of another kind of make, and is of another kind of efficacy, and directed unto, and effective of a nobler end,

end, than thoſe things about which, as above ſaid, men ſo much contend, and that makes ſo great a buſtle and noiſe in the world. As the *credenda*, or things to believed, are but few and plain, ſo the *facienda*, or things to be done, are ſuch as do truly ennoble and advance the human nature, and bring it to its due habitude, both to God and man.

It teacheth and tutors the ſoul to a high reverence and veneration of Almighty God, a ſincere and upright walking as in the preſence of the Inviſible, All-ſeeing God: it makes a man truly to love, to honour, to obey him, and therefore careful to know what his will is: it renders the heart highly thankful to him, both as his Creator, Redeemer, and Benefactor: it makes a man entirely to depend upon him, to ſeek to him for guidance, and direction, and protection; to ſubmit to his will with all patience, and reſignation of ſoul: it gives the law not only to his words and actions, but to his very thoughts and purpoſes, that he dares not entertain a very thought unbecoming the ſight and preſence of that God to whom all our thoughts are legible: it teacheth and bringeth a man to ſuch a deportment both of external and internal ſobriety, as may be decent in the preſence of God and all his holy angels: it cruſheth and caſts down all pride and haughtineſs both in a man's heart and carriage, and gives him an humble frame of ſoul and life, both in the ſight of God and men: it regulates and governs the paſſions of the mind, and brings them into due moderation and frame: it gives a man a right eſtimate of this preſent world, and ſets his heart and hopes above it, ſo that he never loves it more than it deſerves: it makes the wealth and glory of this world, high places, and great preferments, but of a low and little value to him; ſo that he is neither covetous nor ambitious, nor over ſolicitous concerning the advantages of it: it brings a man to that frame, that righteouſneſs, juſtice, honeſty, and fidelity is, as it were, part of his nature; he can ſooner die than commit or purpoſe that which is unjuſt, diſhoneſt, or unworthy a good man: it makes him value the love of God and

peace

peace of conſcience above all the wealth and houors in the world, and be very vigilant to keep it inviolably: though he be under a due apprehenſion of the love of God to him, yet it keeps him humble and watchful, and free from all preſumption, ſo that he dares not, under a vain confidence of the indulgence, and mercy, and favor of God, turn aſide to commit or purpoſe even the leaſt injury to man; he performs all his duties to God in ſincerity, and integrity, and conſtancy; and while he lives on earth, yet his converſation, his hopes, his treaſure, and the flower of his expectation is in Heaven, and he entirely endeavours to walk ſuitably to ſuch a hope: in ſum, it reſtores the image of God unto the ſoul in righteouſneſs and true holineſs.

> Compositum jus, fasque animi sanctosque recessus
> Mentis, & incoctum generoso pectus honesto.

Theſe, and the like to theſe, are the ends, deſign and effect of true Chriſtian Religion, truly received and digeſted in the ſoul. And certainly any man that duly conſidereth, will find that they are of another kind of nature and value, than thoſe ſublime ſpeculations, politic conſtitutions, forms or not forms, affected ſingularities, upon which many lay the weight of Religion, and for and touching which there is ſo much contention and animoſity in the world. So that methinks men in this regard are like to a company of fooliſh boys, who when the nut is broken, run ſcrambling after the pieces of the ſhell, and in the mean while the kernel is neglected and loſt.

Now touching the reaſons or cauſes of theſe miſapprehenſions touching Religion, they are various; ſome deſerve compaſſion, and others are more or leſs excuſable, according to their ſeveral kinds: 1. Some perſons truly conſcientious and zealous of any thing that they judge to be diſpleaſing to God, as not agreeable to his will, and obſerving the many corruptions that the Romiſh church have brought into the worſhip of God, are very ſuſpicious of any thing that

that may look, as they think, that way; and therefore, though they are otherwiſe men of ſound and orthodox principles, and of a truly righteous, ſober, and pious life, yet perchance are tranſported ſomewhat too far in ſcrupling or oppoſing ſome ceremonies or forms; and poſſibly their education and converſation with men of ſuch perſuaſions have confirmed them in it, ſo that they do not oppoſe out of a frowardneſs or peeviſhneſs of mind, or out of pride, or a ſpirit of oppoſition, but in the ſincerity and ſimplicity of their hearts, and out of a tenderneſs for the honour of God. Theſe, though they are or may be miſtaken in their perſuaſions, yet certainly *deſerve compaſſion*, *tenderneſs*, yea and *love* alſo, much rather than *ſeverity* or *contempt*.

2. Others again, obſerving that certain modes and forms, and the rigorous obſervations of them, are the common road for *attaining preferments* or favours of great perſons, upon that account exerciſe a marvellous fervour of mind for them, and a vigorous oppoſition of all that come not up to them in every punctilio, that they may thereby be taken notice of, and employed as uſeful, and fit, and vigorous aſſertors and inſtruments for this purpoſe.

3. Many times *gain* and *profit* is the end and deſign of many practices and poſitions appendicated to Chriſtian Religion, as is before obſerved in the *Romiſh church*; and it is eaſily obſervable that intereſt, profit, and temporal advantage have a ſtrong bias upon men's affections, and are dearer to them than the truth of religion, and carry men more vigorouſly in their upholding and maintenance, than religion itſelf doth: and becauſe the preſence of zeal for religion carries a fair plauſibility with all men, therefore thoſe very things that are but *engines* of *gain* and *profit*, are chriſtened with the ſpecious name of religion.

It was the making of ſilver ſhrines for *Diana*, the art whereby the artificers got their living, that made the outcry, *Great is Diana of the Epheſians.*

4. Again, it is very certain that mankind hath a huge *kindneſs* and *partiality* for matters of their *own invention*, and ſet a greater rate upon them than upon other matters handed over to them by others: and hence it comes to paſs that a new fancy or opinion, a new *Form of Worſhip*, Diſcipline, or Government, that any man hath invented or ſtudied out, is to ſuch a man ordinarily of greater value and moment than it deſerves, and ſhall be maintained with greater zeal, fervour and animoſity, than points of greater truth and moment, as if the great moment and weight of Religion and Chriſtianity lay in it, which is in truth nothing elſe but the effect of ſelf-love and ſelf-conceit.

5. Again, though by nature man be a ſociable creature, yet there is in moſt men a certain itch of pride, which makes them affect a *diſcrimination from others*, and to become a kind of *ſeparated party*, more refined than the reſt of the ſame common profeſſion.

I do remember, in the beginning of our late *troubles*, the *only party* that *viſibly appeared*, were ſome that deſired ſome Reformation in Church-matters: and when that party had obtained, under the name of the *Preſbyterian Party*, in a very little while there aroſe a more ſublime party of men, called the *Independent* or *Congregational men*, which much deſpiſed the former, as not arrived to a juſt meaſure of reformation. Shortly after that there aroſe a kind of *Lay Party*, which as much undervalued the Independent, and indeed the Miniſtry in general.

After that there aroſe a party diſcriminating itſelf from all the former, viz. the *Quakers*. Theſe various parties were as ſo many ſubdiviſions and rectifications of what went before.

Now the means of holding up this diſcrimination of parties are certain ſelect opinions, practices, or modes, which are like the badges or colours that give each party his denomination, diſtinction, and diſcrimination:

nation: and conſequently theſe diſcriminative badges have as great a rate ſet upon them as each ſect ſets upon itſelf; and therefore muſt be upheld under the very notion of the life of Religion, and muſt be maintained with the greateſt fervour imaginable; for otherwiſe the diſtinction of the ſects themſelves would fall to the ground, and become contemptible both among themſelves and others, becauſe otherwiſe there would appear very little and inconſiderable reaſon, upon trifling or ſmall reaſons, to ſeparate and divide from others, and to unchurch and unchriſtian them that are not of their company or ſociety.

A DISCOURSE OF RELIGION.

PART. II.

THE LIFE OF RELIGION,

AND

SUPERADDITIONS TO IT.

THE Truth and Spirit of Religion comes in a narrow compaſs, though the effect and operation thereof are large and diffuſive. Solomon comprehended it in a few words, 'Fear God and keep his Commandments, 'for this is the whole duty of man.' The ſoul and life of religion is the fear of God, which is the Principle of Obedience; but Obedience to his Commands, which is an act or exerciſe of that life, is various, according to the variety of the Commands of God. If I take a kernel of an acorn, the principle of life lies in it: the thing itſelf is but ſmall, but the vegetable principle that lies in it takes up a leſs room than the kernel itſelf, little more than the quantity of a ſmall pin's head, as is eaſy to be obſerved by experiments: but the exerciſe of that ſpark of life is large and comprehenſive in its operation; it produceth a great tree, and in that tree the ſap, the body, the bark, the limbs, the leaves, the fruit; and ſo it is with the principle of True Religion; the principle itſelf lies in a narrow compaſs, but the activity and energy of it is diffuſive and various.

This principle hath not only productions that naturally flow from it, but where it is it ferments and aſſimilates, and gives a kind of tincture even to other actions that do not in their own nature follow from it, as the natural and civil actions of our lives. Under the

the former was our Lord's parable of a Grain of Muſtard, under the latter of his compariſon of Leaven, juſt as we ſee in other things of nature: take a little red wine, and drop it into a veſſel of water, it gives a new tincture to the water; or take a grain of ſalt, and put it into freſh liquor, it doth communicate itſelf to the next adjacent part of the liquor, and that again to the next, until the whole be fermented: ſo that ſmall and little vital principle of the Fear of God doth gradually and yet ſuddenly aſſimilate the actions of our life flowing from another principle. It rectifies and moderates our affections; and paſſions, and appetites, it gives truth to our ſpeech, ſobriety to our ſenſes, humility to our parts, and the like.

Religion is beſt in its ſimplicity and purity, but difficult to be retained ſo, without ſuperſtructions and acceſſions; and thoſe do commonly in time ſtifle and choke the ſimplicity of religion, unleſs much care and circumſpection be uſed: the contemperations are ſo many and ſo cumberſome, that religion loſeth its nature, or is ſtrangled by them: juſt as a man that hath ſome excellent ſimple cordial or ſpirit, and puts in muſk in it to make it ſmell ſweet, and honey to make it taſte pleaſant, and it may be cantharides to make it look glorious. Indeed by the infuſions he hath given it a very fine ſmell, and taſte, and colour, but yet he hath ſo clogged it, and ſophiſticated it with ſuperadditions, that it may be he hath altered the nature, and deſtroyed the virtue of it.

The ſuperadditions and ſuperſtructions in point of religion are very many, and form very many andvarious tempers in men that add them. As, for inſtance:

1. There is one common ſuperaddition that naturally all men are apt to bring into it, viz. that it may gratify the ſenſe; for inaſmuch as the moſt powerful and immediate influence upon us comes from and through our ſenſes, and that ſpiritual and internal apprehenſions have not ſo ſtrong or conſtant an impreſſion upon us, they ſeem things at a diſtance, flat,

and the ſoul is weary of bearing itſelf upon them. Men are apt to dreſs up Religion ſo as it may be grateful to the ſenſe: 'Make us Gods that may go before us:' And this is the chief original of Idolatry, and alſo of Superſtition.

2. There are other ſuperadditions that come even from the accidental inclinations of men to ſome ſpecial matter which they value and love; and that they carry over into religion, and many times mingle with it. As for the purpoſe, take a man greatly admiring Natural Philoſophy, he will be apt to mingle and qualify religion with philoſophical notions. Many of thoſe things of *Ariſtotle* that are harſhly and diſhonourably aſſerted concerning the Deity, are from his tenacious adhering to certain philoſophical poſitions that he had fixed upon.

Behmen, who was a great chymiſt, reſolves almoſt all Religion in chymiſtry, and frames his conceptions of Religion ſuitable and conformable to chymical notions.

Socinus and his followers, being great maſters of reaſon, and deeply learned in matters of Morality, mingle almoſt all Religion with it, and form Religion purely to the model and platform of it.

Many great *phyſicians* that have much obſerved the conſtitutions of man's body, have figured to themſelves notions of the ſoul conformable to the reſults of their obſervations on the body.

And as thus in theſe ſorts of men, ſo again men of *metaphyſical* and *notional brains* and education, as the ſchoolmen, they have conformed religion, and their notions concerning it, to Metaphyſics; and indeed have made that which is and ought to be the common principle for the actuating of all men, yea even of the meaneſt capacities, to be a mere collection of ſubtilties, far more abſtruſe than the moſt intricate and ſublimated human learning whatſoever.

Again, take a politician, or ſtateſman, and he ſhall moſt eaſily conform religion to *State policy*, and make it

it indeed a moſt excellent and incomparable engine for it, and nothing elſe.

And if we narrowly look upon the method and ſyſtem of Religion, as it is formed by the Romiſh hierarchy, it is a moſt exquiſite piece of human policy, and every thing therein ſuited with moſt exquiſite art and prudence for the ſupport of the grandeur and intereſt of that ſtate. This hath mingled with the Chriſtian Religion the *Pope's infallibility* and *ſupremacy*, his power of *pardoning* and *diſpenſing*, his *keys of heaven* and *hell*, his *purgatory* and *indulgences*, and *images* and *adorations* of them, his *reliques*, and *pilgrimages*, and *canonizing* of *ſaints*, and a thouſand ſuch kind of ſtuff moſt incomparably fitted to men's paſſions and affections; and ſo to ſupport that moſt artificial and methodical fabric of the Popiſh ſtate; for indeed it is no other.

And if we look into other kingdoms and places, we ſhall eaſily find that Religion is ſo ſtated and ordered as may beſt conduce to the peace, order, wealth, and amplitude of every kingdom; for wiſe politicians, finding that Religion hath a great impreſſion on men's minds, and therefore if it be not managed by the policy of ſtate, may prove an unruly buſineſs, if it be contemperated with mixture prejudicial to the ſtate, and that it may be a moſt excellent engine if it can be managed and actuated for the benefit of the ſtate, do add to it much of their own, that it may be managed upon occaſion; and they dreſs up religion with ſtate policy, whereby in truth it becomes nothing elſe but a mere piece of human policy, under the name of Religion.

And on the other ſide, thoſe either politic or diſcontented ſpirits, that would put a kingdom into blood and confuſion, do mingle diſcontents and fancies, and imaginations, ſuſpicions and frowardneſs with Religion, and call this confuſed mixture of fancies and paſſions, Religion, and manage and brandiſh

this weapon with mighty diſadvantage to that ſtate which they oppoſe.

For it is moſt apparent, that as nothing hath ſo great an impulſion upon men, as that which comes under the apprehenſion of Religion, inaſmuch as it concerns the greateſt good, even their everlaſting ſouls and happineſs; ſo nothing is of ſo univerſal concernment as this, and therefore like to attract the moſt followers; for every man hath not an eſtate to care for; but every man hath a ſoul to care for; and hence it is that ſcarce any great conteſt between princes hath happened in theſe latter years, nor ſcarce any commotion in a ſtate, but Religion is owned on *all ſides*; and God, and his Cauſe, and his Church, owned on *all hands*, and therefore ſtill the ſcramble is for Religion, and who ſhall keep the *Opinion of Religion* moſt firm to them; and therefore they on all hands infuſe into the thing they call Religion thoſe things that may moſt probably and politicly hold to their party.

Again, in conteſt among Clergymen, every one trims and orders Religion in that dreſs that may moſt make it *their own*, and ſecure it to *themſelves*.

Take the *Popiſh* Clergymen: hold what you will, if you hold not the *Supremacy* and Vicariat of the Pope, all the reſt of your Religion is not worth a ruſh.

Come to the *Reformed Epiſcopal* Clergy: as to the Pope's Supremacy they diſclaim it: but if you acknowledge not *Epiſcopal Government*; if you *ſwear not canonical obedience* to your Ordinary; if you ſubmit not to the liturgy, and ceremonies, and veſtments, and muſic, uſed in the church, you are at beſt a Schiſmatic.

Again, come to the *Preſbyterian* Clergy, they will tell you Epiſcopal Government is Romiſh and Superſtitious, and their ceremonies and uſages Antichriſtian uſurpations; but if you mean to be of a warrantable Religion, you muſt ſubmit to the *Preſbyterian* government as truly Apoſtolical.

Come

Come to the *Independent*, he declaims againſt both the former, and tells you that the true Conformity to Apoſtolical Order is in the Congregational way.

Take the *Anabaptiſt*, and he tells you all the former are vain and irreligious, unleſs you will be *rebaptized* and *liſted* in their Church.

Again, in points of Doctrine, as well as Diſcipline, it is moſt plain that tenents are profeſſed or decried for diſtinction of parties; witneſs the conteſt between the Arminian party and the Calviniſtical party, which are only uſed as methods on either ſide, to attract proſelytes, and diſtinguiſh parties: And in theſe and the like diſtinctions of parties and profeſſions, the ſuperſtructions and additions are in a manner incorporated and grafted into Religion, and in effect give the only denomination to it, according to the various intereſts and affections of parties; when, in truth, the main buſineſs of theſe and the like additions and ſuperſtructions, are but policies to diſtinguiſh, and fortify and increaſe parties.

3. There are ſome ſuperadditions to Religion, that though I do not think they are to be condemned, yet are carefully to be diſtinguiſhed from the true and natural Life of Religion; and ſo long as they are kept under that apprehenſion, they may, if prudently applied and managed, do good; but if either they are imprudently inſtituted, imprudently applied, or inconſiderately over-valued, as if they were Religion, they may and many times do harm: and ſuch are decent and inoffenſive Forms in the External Worſhip of God appointed by the Civil Magiſtrate, by the advice of thoſe that are deſervedly eminent in the Church for their piety, learning, and prudence. And there ſeems to be very good reaſon for it.

1. Becauſe if every man ſhould be left to himſelf, there would confuſion enſue; becauſe no man knew another's mind, or rule of his external deportment.

2. All men have not that equal prudence to judge what were fit to be uſed; the magiſtrate is like to make

choice of thoſe perſons that are fitteſt to adviſe, and their recommendations would be of greateſt authority with others.

3. It is moſt certain, that man being compoſed of ſoul and body, cannot ſo regularly and well fix himſelf to his duty, without ſome juſtifiable help to his devotion; ſuch are vocal prayers, kneeling, and other geſtures proper for the matter of worſhip which he intends.

And this may be one reaſon, why the Lord, though he ſtrictly forbad all idolatry and ſuperſtition, and heatheniſh practiſe to the *Jews*, yet did appoint Sacrifices, Prieſts, a glorious Tabernacle, and the Ark, which was not only a diverſion from the *Egyptian* Idolatry which they had ſeen, but alſo a help to their natural infirmity for the excitation of their devotion.

And although our Lord Jeſus came to abrogate, even that indulgence, and foretold that thoſe *that worſhipped the Father, ſhould worſhip him in ſpirit and in truth*, under the Goſpel, yet it is certain that the immediate Apoſtles of Chriſt did ſet certain orderly Obſervances in the Church for decency's ſake; and it was juſtly allowable: as concerning the order of the exerciſe of their ſupernatural gifts, concerning women ſpeaking in the Church, concerning men being covered in the church, and women veiled, concerning the manner and order of receiving the Sacrament, and the like.

But as there be reaſons for it, ſo there be cautions to be uſed in it.

1. That they be not too numerous; for their multitude will rather oppreſs than ſecure Religion.

2. That in their natures they be not ſuperſtitious, but keep as much diſtance from it as well may be; otherwiſe they will be in Religion, as the dead fly in the apothecary's ointment.

3. That they be clean and decent, not too full of pomp or oſtentation: ceremonies ſhould be uſed as we uſe a glaſs, rather to preſerve the oil, than to adorn it.

it. Too much pomp cauſeth jealouſies even in good men, of a degeneration either to Jewiſh Ceremonies or Popiſh Vanities.

4. That though ſuch are not to be rejected becauſe they are ancient, ſo if they become unſeaſonable, they are not to be held merely becauſe they are ancient. It is with Ceremonies as with ſome other things that are fit to be changed when they are become unuſeful or offenſive, as the Love Feaſts, Extreme Unction, and ſome other things, poſſibly practiſed, and fit enough, in the primitive times. Many ceremonies were at firſt invented and practiſed, to win over unconverted heathens; to encourage weak Chriſtians, eſpecially the *Jews*, who were not eaſily to be drawn from their legal ceremonies: but when people become a knowing people, that ſee beyond thoſe ceremonies, and underſtand when, and why, and how they came in, then it were prudence to diſpenſe with, or change them.

5. That they be not urged with too much rigour or ſeverity upon ſuch as conſcientiouſly refuſe them. Charity to a weak brother, in things indifferent in their own nature, is then to be exerciſed, when my brother is offended therewith, or never: and if it be ſaid it is his duty to ſubmit to the Church, and not the Church to him, I do think that anſwer will not ſerve in this caſe; for ſurely though a child owes a duty to a father, yet his neglect thereof, eſpecially if it be upon a conſcientious account, will not excuſe the neglect of a father's duty to his child: the Apoſtle profeſſed he would abſtain from things lawful rather than offend his weak brother.

6. And eſpecially that we be careful to remember that *Religion is another thing from theſe Ceremonies.* Theſe are of uſe, i. e. for Ornament; they are the dreſſing and the trimmings of Religion at the beſt, but the fear of God is of a higher extraction.

It is a pitiful thing to ſee men run upon this miſtake, eſpecially in theſe latter times; one placing all his

his Religion in holding the Pope to be Chriſt's Vicar; another placing Religion in this, to hold no Papiſt can be ſaved: one holding all Religion to conſiſt, in holding Epiſcopacy to be *jure divino*; another by holding Preſbytery to be *jure divino*; another in crying up Congregational Government; another in Anabaptiſm: one in placing all Religion in the ſtrict obſervation of all Ceremonies; another in a ſtrict *refuſal* of all: one holding a great part of Religion in putting off the hat, and bowing at the Name of Jeſus; another judging a man an idolater for it; and a third placing his Religion in putting off his hat to none: and ſo like a company of boys that blow bubbles out of a wallnut-ſhell, every one runs after his bubble, and calls it Religion; and every one meaſures the Religion or irreligion of another, by their agreeing or diſſenting with them in theſe or the like matters; and at beſt, while we ſcramble and wrangle about the pieces of the ſhell, the kernel is either loſt, or gotten by ſome that do not prize any of their conteſts.

Believe it, Religion is quite another thing from all theſe matters: he that fears the Lord of Heaven and Earth, walks humbly before him, thankfully lays hold of the Meſſage of Redemption by Chriſt Jeſus, ſtrives to expreſs his thankfulneſs by the ſincerity of his obedience, is ſorry with all his ſoul when he comes ſhort of his duty, walks watchfully in the denial of himſelf, and holds no confederacy with any luſt or known ſin; if he falls in the leaſt meaſure, is reſtleſs till he hath made his peace by true repentance, is true to his promiſe, juſt in his actions; charitable to the poor, ſincere in his devotions, that will not deliberately diſhonour God, though with the greateſt ſecurity of impunity; that hath his hope in heaven, and his converſation in heaven; that dares not do an unjuſt act, though ever ſo much to his advantage, and all this becauſe he ſees him that is inviſible, and fears him becauſe he loves him, fears him as well for his goodneſs as his greatneſs; ſuch a man, whether he be an Epiſcopal,

or

or a Preſbyterian, or an Independent, or an Anabaptiſt; whether he wears a Surplice, or wears none; whether he hears Organs, or hears none; whether he kneels at the Communion, or for conſcience ſake ſtands or ſits; he hath the Life of Religion in him, and that life acts in him, and will conform his ſoul to the image of his Saviour, and walk along with him to eternity, notwithſtanding his practice or non-practice of theſe indifferents.

On the other ſide, if a man fears not the Eternal God, dares commit any ſin with preſumption, can drink exceſſively, ſwear vainly or falſely, commit adultery, lie, cozen, cheat, break his promiſes, live looſely, though he practiſe every ceremony ever ſo curiouſly, or as ſtubbornly oppoſe them; though he cry down Biſhops, or cry down Preſbytery; though he be re-baptized every day, or though he diſclaim againſt it as hereſy; though he faſt all the Lent, or feaſt out of pretence of avoiding ſuperſtition; yet notwithſtanding theſe, and a thouſand more external conformities, or zealous oppoſitions of them, he wants the Life of Religion.

A DISCOURSE OF RELIGION.

PART III.

THE SUPERSTRUCTIONS UPON RELIGION, AND ANIMOSITIES ABOUT THEM.

THE Chriſtian Religion and Doctrine was, by the goodneſs and wiſdom of God, deſigned to be the common means and method to bring mankind to their chief end, namely, to know, and to ſerve, and obey, and glorify and everlaſtingly to enjoy Almighty God, the chiefeſt good.

And to that end it was given out with all the plainneſs and perſpicuity, with all evidence and certainty; a Doctrine and Religion containing precepts of all holineſs and purity, of all righteouſneſs and honeſty, of all longanimity, benignity, and gentleneſs, ſweetneſs, meekneſs, and charity; of all moderation and patience, of all ſobriety and temperance; in brief, it is a religion that is admirably and ſufficiently conſtituted to make a man, what indeed he ſhould be, pious towards God, juſt and beneficent towards men, and temperate in himſelf, fitted for a life of piety, honeſty, juſtice, and goodneſs, and happineſs hereafter. Such is the Chriſtian Religion, and ſuch the men muſt be that are truly conformable to it; and if any man profeſſing chriſtianity, be not ſuch a man, it is becauſe he comes ſo much ſhort of his due conformity to Chriſtian Religion, and the moſt excellent doctrine and precepts thereof.

The profeſſion of this Religion in that which is, and for many ages hath been, commonly made by a very conſiderable part of the known world, as the only true Religion given to the world by Almighty God, through his Son Jeſus Chriſt, wherein and whereby they may expect everlaſting ſalvation.

But

But yet together with this Chriſtian Religion, the profeſſors thereof have in ſeveral ages and places choſen to themſelves various adventitious accidental ſuperſtructions, additions, opinions, modes, and practices, which they have as it were incorporated into the Chriſtian Religion by them profeſſed, or appendicated unto it.

And theſe ſuperſtructions or appendixes of Chriſtian Religion have been introduced and entertained by various means, and by various deſigns, and to various ends. Some by the authority of great names; ſome by inſenſible gradations or long cuſtoms; ſome by a ſuppoſed congruity or incongruity; ſome for order or decency; ſome for diſcrimination of parties; ſome for political ends, appearing in themſelves, or ſecretly carried on; ſome upon emergent occaſions, either continuing or now ceaſing; ſome by civil, ſome by eccleſiaſtical ſanctions; ſome by traditional obſervations, either continued, or interrupted and revived; ſome for ornament; ſome for uſe; ſome as ſuppoſed neceſſary conſequents upon the Chriſtian doctrine; ſome to be, *quaſi ſepta & munimenta doctrinæ & Religionis Evangelicæ* [1], as the Jewiſh traditions were ſuppoſed to be the *Sepimenta Legis* [2]; ſome for one end, and ſome for another: And although theſe are not truly and eſſentially parts of the Chriſtian Religion, yet as the humours in the body are ſome good, ſome noxious, ſome innocent, though they are no part of the true vital blood, yet they mingle with it, and run along in it; ſo theſe ſuperſtructions, and occaſions, and additions, have in various ages, ſucceſſions, and places, mingled with the true radical vital doctrine and Religion of Chriſt, in men's opinions, and practices, and profeſſions.

And yet it is viſible to any man that will but attentively obſerve the courſes of men profeſſing Chriſtian Religion, that the greateſt fervour and animoſity of

[1] As it were the fences and guards of the doctrines of the Gospel.
[2] The fences of the Law.

the

the Profeſſors of Chriſtian Religion is not ſo much with reſpect to the ſubſtantials of Chriſtian Religion, either in things to be believed or practiſed, as touching theſe additions and ſuperſtructions; ſome as fervently contending for them, as if the life of Chriſtianity conſiſted in them; ſome as bitterly and ſeverely conteſting againſt them, as if the life and ſoul of Chriſtian Religion were not poſſibly conſiſting with them.

And by theſe means theſe unhappy conſequences follow:

1. That whereas the main of Chriſtian Religion conſiſts in the true belief of the Goſpel of Chriſt Jeſus, and the practice of thoſe Chriſtian virtues that he left unto his diſciples and followers, both by his example and precept, namely, love of God, holineſs and purity of life, humility, and lowlineſs of mind, patience, meekneſs, gentleneſs, charity, a low and eaſy value of the world, contentation of mind, ſubmiſſion to the will of God, dependance upon him, reſignation unto him, and other excellent evangelical virtues, that perfect and rectify the ſoul, and fit it for an humble communion with Almighty God in this life, and a bleſſed fruition of his preſence in the life to come; the Chriſtian Religion is not ſo much placed in theſe, as in an entire conformity to modes and circumſtances, or an extreme averſion from them. And according to the various intereſts or inclinations of parties thoſe are made the *magnalia* of Chriſtian Religion, and ſuch as give the only character or diſcriminative indication of the Chriſtian Religion.

2. And conſequently all the greateſt part of that ſtreſs and fervour of mind, which ſhould be employed in thoſe great weighty ſubſtantials of Chriſtianity, runs out and ſpends itſelf in thoſe little collaterals, and ſuperſtructions, and additaments; ſome placing the greateſt earneſtneſs and intention, of mind to have them, and ſome placing the intenſion and fervour of their mind to be without them, not unlike

thoſe

thoſe old contentions between the Eaſtern and Weſtern churches, touching the time of the paſchal obſervation, one party excommunicating the other for their diſſent, as if the whole weight and ſtreſs of the Chriſtian Religion lay in thoſe little additaments.

3. And hereupon there ariſe ſchiſms, factions, and perſonal animoſities, diſcrimination of parties, cenſorioufneſs, and ſtudied eſtrangings of profeſſors of Chriſtianity; oftentimes one party declining thoſe practices which are good and commendable in the other, to keep their diſtances the more irreconcileable, and each party eſpouſing ſome odd diſcriminating habits, modes, and ſometimes alſo opinions in matters of religion, that may eſtrange and diſcriminate themeach from the other; and theſe opinions though of little moment or conſequence (it may be whether true or falſe) are advanced up into little leſs than articles of faith, for the ſake of this diſcrimination, when poſſibly they are of little moment whether they be aſſented unto or not, of leſs certainty, and have little or no influence or concern in the ſubſtance of Chriſtian doctrine.

4. And hereupon it oftentimes comes to paſs that not only the common bond of charity and Chriſtian love is broken between the profeſſors of the ſame ſubſtantials in Chriſtianity, but there is moſt ordinarily much more ſeverity, and perſecution, and implacableneſs, and irreconcileableneſs. more endeavours to undermine, and ſupplant, and diſgrace diſſenters, more ſcorns, and vilifying, and reproach, and inſolence one towards another in their viciſſitudes of advantage, than there is between profeſſors of Chriſtianty, and men of the moſt looſe and profane lives, between orthodox and heretic, nay between Chriſtians and Turks, or Infidels, many times.

5. And from this there ariſeth a moſt fruitful and a moſt inevitable increaſe of atheiſm and contempt of Religion, in many of the ſpectators of this game,

among profeſſors of the Chriſtian Religion, and that upon theſe two accounts: principally, becauſe when they hear each party decla ‹ (as they muſt, if they declare truth) in their ſermons and writings, that the doctrine of Chriſtianity enjoins mutual love, condeſcenſion, charity, gentleneſs, meekneſs, and yet ſo little practiſed by diſſenting parties, men are apt to conclude, that either theſe perſons do not believe what they pretend to preach and publiſh, or that the doctrine of Chriſtianity was a notion and ſpeculation, and never intended as a neceſſary rule of practice, ſince the greateſt pretenders to the Religion of Chriſt practiſe ſo little of it.

2. Becauſe when men ſee that thoſe little ſuperſtructions and additions are by the one ſide proſecuted, and on the other ſide decryed, with as much animoſity, fervour and ſeverities, as the moſt weighty and important truths and precepts of evangelical faith and obedience, ſpectators and by-ſtanders think that they are all of the ſame value; and when they ſee that theſe things which every ſober conſiderate man muſt needs conclude little, and of no moment, are rated at ſo great a value by the conteſting parties of each ſide, truths then are doubted of in relation to theſe: it makes men call in queſtion great matters, when they ſee ſuch ſmall things purſued or declined with no leſs fervour and animoſity than if they were of the greateſt.

And conſidering theſe unhappy conſequences of theſe fervours of minds, touching theſe ſmall appendixes and ſuperſtructions, even more than about, or concerning the very weighty things of the Goſpel, I have endeavoured to ſearch out the reaſon how this ſtrong diſtemper comes to paſs; and there ſeem to be theſe cauſes thereof:

1. Ordinarily a man is more fond of, and concerned for ſomething that is his own, than for that which is of God; as we are tranſported with a love to ourſelves, ſo we are tranſported with a love and admira-

admiration of what is our own: and hence it is that the weightier and more important duties enjoined by Chriſt, partake leſs of our zeal, or courage, or intenſion of mind, than our own little fantaſies and inventions.

2. Pride, Credit, and Reputation are commonly engaged in either party in the things conteſted, when they are once conteſted: and theſe are violent and preſſing intereſts and motions.

3. The plaineſt truth and purity of Religion is a thing that ſeldom pleaſeth and ſuiteth to the curioſity and appetite of men; they are always fond of ſomething annexed or appendicated to Religion, to make it pleaſing to their appetite; a certain ſauce that may entertain their fancy, after which it may run, and wherein it may pleaſe itſelf. And theſe ſauces to Religion are various, and variouſly pleaſing, according to the various inclinations of men: moſt ordinarily the fancies of men affect ſome things ſplendid and ſenſible to be ſuperadded to Religion: the Iſraelites would needs have gods that might go before them; and in compliance with this humour, moſt of the ſtrange modes and geſticulations among the Heathens, and moſt of the ſuperſtitions, ceremonies and rites among the Papiſts, were invented.

Again, ſometimes the humour of the people runs in the other extreme; either they will have nothing of form or order, or all ſuch forms or orders as are extremely oppoſite to what others uſe, and place their delight and complacency therein: and by this means oftentimes it comes to paſs, that men are carried with greater earneſtneſs, and vehemence after thoſe *placentia*, 'the entertainments' of their fancies, than to the true ſubſtance of Religion itſelf.

4. Oftentimes it comes to paſs that there are two very jealous concerns, and impatient of any corrival, that are engaged each againſt other in theſe different and diſſenting practices, relating to collaterals in Re-

ligion: on the one ſide, Power and Authority is very tender of its own intereſt, and jealous of a competitor or rival: on the other ſide, Conſcience and Perſuaſion either of the neceſſity or unlawfulneſs of any thing, is very jealous, or fearful, and ſuſpicious of any thing that might injure it: and whether the conſcience be miſtaken or not, yet ſo long as its perſuaſion, that is entertained *ſub ratione conscientiæ* [1], prevails, this jealouſy will ſtill prevail in the mind; and it many times falls out that Authority, on the one hand, is impatient, or at leaſt jealous of oppoſition; and Conſcience, on the other hand, reſtleſs and unquiet.

5. And the difficulty is ſo much the greater, becauſe each ſeems to derive its obliging authority from God; the magiſtrate recognizing God Almighty as the fountain, root, and foundation of his power; and the conſcience ſuppoſed to be the vicegerent of God in the ſoul.

6. But that which admirably keeps up theſe differences, is that men on each ſide deal not one with another *calmly*, *mildly*, or upon the reaſons of the things, or upon a true way of reaſoning, debating, and arguing of things, or prudent conſiderations that might invite yielding on the one ſide, or accommodations on the other, but each party takes in all thoſe contributions, aſſiſtances, and advantages, that commonly accompany the worſt of contentions.

For inſtance, 1. Extremity of paſſion and indignation: 2. Violence and bitterneſs of writings and ſpeeches: 3. Each party rendering the other as odious and ridiculous as is poſſible: 4. Scoffing, jeering, and perſonal reflections: 5. Artifices and deſigns each to catch and undermine the other: 6. An induſtrious and willing miſinterpretation of each others words, writings, and actions, and raiſing them to odious inferences and conſequences, beyond what they were meant, or really and truly bear: 7. Diſingenuous

[1] From a principle of conſcience.

quotations

quotations out of each other, without thoſe ordinary remedies that might be allowed by comparing of other parts of their writings.

Theſe and the like auxiliaries are on each part taken into theſe velitations between Chriſtians, and in relation to things contended for or againſt in theſe differences; whereas the whole tenour of the doctrine of Chriſtianity, as it was delivered by Chriſt and his Apoſtles, decries nothing more than anger, wrath, malice, railing, evil-ſpeaking, backbiting, ſlanders, reproaches, names and epithets of ſcorns, craft, and ſubtilty; yet all theſe black legions are called, uſed, and employed in the management of that cauſe which each party pretends to be the cauſe of Chriſt; as if fiends, and furies, and legions of Devils, were thought fit auxiliaries on each party, wherein both pretend the intereſt of Chriſt Jeſus.

And that this is ſo, let any man but read thoſe books which have flown abroad from either party, he will find it evident in all the contentions of this nature: witneſs on the one part *Martin Marprelate*, the *Odious Centuries* put out by Mr. *White* in the beginning of the Long Parliament, the frequent invectives and odious epithets given to the Liturgy, to the Biſhops, Conforming Miniſters, and to the Church of England itſelf, as Antichriſtian, Idolatrous, *Babylonish*, and a thouſand ſuch names and ſtiles.

And on the other ſide there have been many that have not been behind hand with bitter invectives, ſcornful and mocking expreſſions and appellations, odious reflections, unneceſſary to be repeated. By all which theſe two things are evident;

1. That theſe tranſports of either ſide come not from that Spirit which Chriſt brought with him into the world, and which he commended, and left to his diſciples and followers, namely, a Spirit of Love, of Charity, of Gentleneſs, Patience, Kindneſs, and Sweetneſs of diſpoſition.

2. That if men go about to juſtify this, becauſe firſt provoked by the adverſe party, and ſo juſtify it by the

law of taliation, theſe men do not remember that as on the one hand, the duty of Chriſtians is Self-denial, Moderation, and Peaceableneſs; on the other ſide, that a Spirit of Revenge, an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, is as much againſt the Doctrine of Chriſt, as any thing in the world.

Therefore, certainly it becomes thoſe of either party either to caſhier theſe black auxiliaries o ftheir wars, and contentions of this kind, or otherwiſe, for the ſake and honour of Chriſt and the Chriſtian Religion, plainly declare that he is not concerned in the conteſt, but that the conteſt is a conteſt of *intereſt* and *vain-glory*, of *pride*, and *ambition*, and *reputation*, and *deſire of victory*; or if they will not declare ſo much to the world, yet they muſt give leave to the ſpectators to judge of it ſo.

Now theſe bitterneſſes and virulentneſſes of either ſide, have been commonly of two kinds; 1. Such as reflect, if not all together, yet moſt of all, upon the *perſons* of their adverſaries: 2. Or ſuch as reflect only upon the *matters* in difference between them; both were bad enough, and ſuch as ſerve to make the differences and breaches wider.

But of late times, I know not by what unhappy ſtar, there have prevailed more than formerly, certain invectives that have gone much farther, even to the rendering of *Religion itſelf*, and *Scripture expreſſions*, ridiculous, and pieces of raillery; and I could have wiſhed that ſome late books, put out under the faſhion of *dialogues*, and ſome other books of that kind, had not been too guilty of this fault.

I do remember when *Ben Jonſon* made his play of the Alchymiſt, wherein he brings in *Anartas* in deriſion of the perſons then called *Puritans*, with many of their phraſes in uſe among them, taken out of the Scriptures; with a deſign to render that ſort of perſons ridiculous, and to gain applauſe to his wit and fancy. But although thoſe perſons were not in very good eſteem among the great ones and gallants, yet the play was

was diſliked, and indeed abhorred, becauſe it ſeemed to reproach Religion itſelf, though intended only to render the Puritans ridiculous. That which was uncomely and unſeemly in a poet, who made it his buſineſs to make plays, certainly is much more fulſome and unſavory in another; eſpecially if the author be a clergyman, as I ſuppoſe he is: for of all men in the world it becomes ſuch *proſpicere honori religionis Chriſtianæ*[1], and not to render it ridiculous and contemptible by raillery and ſcurrilous jeſting.

And yet I do not find in all Ben Jonſon's Alchymiſt, one half of thoſe ridiculous and unſeemly repetitions of Scripture phraſes and expreſſions, as well as mimical imitations and diſdainful mockings of thoſe perſons, and that party whom he deſigns to diſparage. Scarce a page but ſome unhandſome mention of the *ſpirit*, and *Chriſt*, and *grace*, and *ſaints*, and ſome Scripture expreſſions; and if it ſhall be ſaid that he doth it but only in exprobration of ſuch perſons as abuſed or miſapplied ſuch expreſſions, and it is not with intent to reproach the Scripture or thoſe phraſes that are deſumed from it, but to ſhew the boldneſs and miſtakes of them that have miſapplied or abuſed them.

I anſwer, 1, That theſe miſapplications and inconſiderate uſes of Scripture-phraſes by them, though it be juſtly reprovable, yet it is far more intolerable in him. Though their miſtakes were weak and fooliſh, yet they were *ſerious* in thoſe very miſtakes; but this man induſtriouſly and deſignedly makes the expreſſion ridiculous and contemptible. 2. Their abuſes of Scripture and Scripture-phraſes will not at all juſtify the like in him, though in another kind, and to another end; he might have learned to have avoided the folly and inconſiderateneſs of the others, and not have multiplied it in himſelf by a worſe method of abuſe.

Certainly, whoever he was that made theſe conferences, I dare ſay he hath no ſuch pattern of writing

[1] To conſult the honor of the Chriſtian religion.

from the Apoſtles or Fathers. The neareſt copy that I know of it, is the A—— — ; and though he ſeems a man of wit and learning, and poſſibly would be ſomebody in the world, I dare ſay they that cheriſh him in the main of his deſign are aſhamed of his ſcurrility, and wiſh it had been ſpared, and ſo perchance may he be when more years have better conſideration. The miſchiefs that come by this manner of writing are very great and many.

1. It makes differences irreconcilable. When differences, Civil or Eccleſiaſtical, in judgment or practice, happen, gentleneſs, ſoftneſs, mildneſs, and perſonal reſpectfulneſs, quiet the paſſions and ſpirits of the adverſe party, gain upon him, get within him; and when the perſon is thus won, and over-matched with ſweetneſs and kindneſs, and perſonal jealouſies and prejudices removed, perſuaſions and arguments grow prevalent, come with their full weight, are entertained calmly, and conſiderately, and inſenſibly gain ground even upon the judgment: but I never yet knew any man converted by an angry, paſſionate, railing adverſary, for ſuch kind of behaviour preſently raiſeth in the adverſary the like paſſions and prejudice, and makes the diſtance greater; and the paſſions being engaged in the quarrel, the judgments of both ſides are loſt, or blinded, or ſilenced with the duſt and noiſe of paſſionate digladiations; and indeed, conſidering how apparently and evidently ſuch kind of dealing between Diſſenters, renders compoſures almoſt impoſſible; and yet obſerving how much this courſe of reviling, and opprobrious, and unmanly, as well as unchriſtian language, is in practice, I thought that it had been a real deſign to render each party odious and irreconcileable to the other, and the hopes of compoſure deſperate; for who can ever expect that any man, or any ſort of men, ſhould be drawn over to that party that ſhould publicly ſtyle him *brain-ſick*, a *fool*, *ſilly*, *hypocrite*, *fanatic*, and a hundred ſuch ſcornful appellations; or that men will be eaſily drawn to relinquiſh thoſe opinions or perſuaſions,

ſuaſions, when they muſt thereby in effect ſubſcribe to ſuch epithets and appellations before all the world; and of all things in the world men can with the leaſt patience bear reflection upon their intellectuals, and are moſt irreconcileable to them that traduce or abuſe them therein.

2. It greatly diſadvantageth the *cauſe* as well as the *perſons* of thoſe that uſe this method amongſt ſober indifferent obſervers, who will be ready to conclude them a parcel of people tranſported by paſſions, weak, and prejudicated; and look upon ſuch a cauſe as is maintained by railing, ſcoffing, raillery, and unproved calumnies, as weak, and ſtanding in need of ſuch rudeneſſes to ſupport and maintain it.

3. It expoſeth Religion itſelf to the deriſion of Atheiſts, and confirms them in their atheiſms, and gains them too many proſelytes; and that principally upon theſe reaſons: 1. Becauſe they find that clergymen do tell them in the pulpits, that Chriſt himſelf and his Apoſtles condemned railing, ſcandalous appellation, as *raca*, and *fool*, *evil-ſpeaking*, *foolish jeſting*, *mocking*, *reviling*; this they tell men, and they tell them truly; and yet theſe very men that call themſelves miniſters of Chriſt, meſſengers of the Goſpel of Peace, take that admirable liberty of reproaching, ſcoffing, and deriding one another in their public pamphlets and diſcourſes, that can ſcarce be exampled among the moſt invective ranks of perſons, whoſe trade it is to be ſatirical, and render people ridiculous: nay, ſo far hath this excellent manage prevailed among clergymen, that their ſcoffs and reproaches are not levelled at the perſons, or perſonal defects of Diſſenters, but rather than want ſupports for their party, will have ugly ſlings at Religion itſelf, at Scripture expreſſions; and when men ſee ſuch a courſe of practice among the preachers and clergymen, they are ready to conclude, that ſurely they believe not themſelves what they preach to others; therefore think they have a fair pretence not to believe them.

2. But

2. But principally theſe great animoſities and tranſports of diſſenting clergymen, confirm and promote Atheiſm, upon this account, that the things about which this wonderful hate is ſtrucken between theſe parties, are ſuch as both parties agree to be none of the fundamentals of the religion profeſſed by both, but acceſſaries and acceſſions, and ſuch indeed as by-ſtanders think are of very ſmall moment: and yet when men ſee ſo much heat and paſſion, ſo much fervour and contentions, ſuch reproaches and revilings, ſuch exaſperations of authority on either party, ſuch mutual proſecutions one of another, that more could not poſſibly be done between diſſenters in thoſe points which both agree to be fundamental; atheiſtical ſpirits are apt to conclude, that probably thoſe points, that both ſides ſuppoſed to be of greater moment, are *ejuſdem farinæ* [1] with thoſe in conteſt, ſince they are not, nor cannot be proſecuted with greater fervour than theſe, which all men take to be ſmall and inconſiderable, and that it is intereſt, vain-glory, and applauſe, or ſome other temporal concern, that gives this fervour and zeal in matters of Religion, more than the true concerns of itſelf. The concluſion therefore is, that men for their own ſakes, and for the ſake and honour of the Chriſtian Religion, would uſe more temperance, prudence, and moderation, in conteſts about circumſtantials.

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LIFE AND IMMORTALITY,

2 TIM. i, 10.

AND HATH BROUGHT LIFE AND IMMORTALITY TO LIGHT THROUGH THE GOSPEL.

AMONG the many great advantages that are conveyed unto mankind by the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, there are theſe of principal moment:

1. A full and clear diſcovery, that there is a ſtate of Life and Immortality of mankind, after the diſſolution of the lives we enjoy in this inferior world,

2. A full and clear diſcovery of the nature and kinds of this eſtate of Life and Immortality, namely, that it is a ſtate of rewards and puniſhments; a ſtate of reward with everlaſting life and happineſs to the righteous, and a ſtate of everlaſting life and miſery to the wicked.

3. A full diſcovery of an eaſy and effectual means of the avoiding of that future life of miſery, and of the attainment of that future eſtate of life of happineſs.

I ſhall not enter into a large diſcourſe of theſe excellent diſcoveries, but only briefly conſider theſe things;

1. The great importance of the true and evident diſcovery of theſe great truths.

2. The great deficiency that there was in theſe diſcoveries before the light of the Goſpel came into the world.

3. The

3. The great diſcovery made by the Goſpel of theſe great and important truths.

4. The great evidences for the ſatisfaction and conviction of the truths of theſe diſcoveries thus made in the Goſpel.

1. Concerning the former of theſe; namely, the great importance of this truth, and of the full and evident diſcovery thereof. And this appears evident to every man that doth but conſider the nature of this matter.

We are born and live in this world, according to the greateſt ordinary account, about threeſcore and ten years, and then we die, and are no more ſeen in this world: of what a vaſt momentous concernment is it for us to know, that there is an everlaſting eſtate of happineſs or miſery, according to the nature of the tranſaction of our lives here, that doth moſt certainly and infallibly attend us after death? The importance of the knowledge of this is more than all the reſt of our knowledge of all other things, in very many reſpects: 1. The bare knowledge of the thing itſelf is a moſt excellent ſubject to be known, if there were nothing elſe in it. But, 2. It is a knowledge of a thing that doth moſt neceſſarily, nearly, and intimately concern us; even much more than our very lives in this world. This life paſſeth away as a ſhadow, but the life of rewards and puniſhments is a life everlaſting, and unchangeable; and therefore it is of more concernment to us, both to know it, and to know how to attain that bleſſed life of happineſs, than to attain all the glory and happineſs that this preſent tranſitory life can afford. And, 3. The knowledge of this truth is of huge moment, not only for the right ordering of our preſent life here, in order to the attainment of that everlaſting bleſſed life, but even for a right, and wiſe, and comfortable management and enjoyment of the preſent life we have in this world. For moſt certainly, without the proſpect, hope and expectation of this future ſtate, the life of man is more unhappy and miſerable

miſerable than the lives of the beaſts that periſh. The knowledge therefore of this great truth is of the greateſt moment to the children of men; and the ignorance thereof is the moſt unhappy and hurtful ignorance of any thing in the world; becauſe it is an ignorance of that which moſt concerns us to know, becauſe that knowledge is principally neceſſary for the avoiding of the greateſt evil, and the attaining of the greateſt good that can poſſibly befall us.

2. Touching the ſecond; namely, the deficiency that was in the world, in order to the diſcovery, before the Goſpel came. This principally conſiſted in theſe things: 1. A want of a ſufficient evidence, that there is any ſuch eſtate after death. 2. A want of a ſufficient light, to diſcover what that future eſtate was to be. 3. A want of a diſcovery of a ſufficient means, how that part of the eſtate of everlaſting happineſs was to be attained, and the eſtate of everlaſting miſery to be avoided. And this deficiency in theſe things will appear, if we take a ſurvey, firſt, of the ſtate of the Gentile knowledge, in relation to theſe things. Secondly, in relation to the diſcoveries made to the Jews under the law.

Firſt, As to the diſcoveries of theſe truths unto the Gentile. It is very true, that partly by an univerſal tradition, derived probably from the common parents of mankind, partly by ſome glimmering of natural light, in the natural conſciences at leaſt of ſome of the heathen, there ſeemed to be ſome common perſuaſion of a future eſtate of rewards and puniſhments. But, firſt, it was but weak and dim, and was even in many of the wiſeſt of them overborn; ſo that it was rather a ſuſpicion, or at moſt a weak and faint perſuaſion rather than a ſtrong and firm conviction: and hence it became very unoperative and ineffectual to the moſt of them, when they had the greateſt need of it; namely, upon imminent, or incumbent temporal evils of grat preſſure. But, where the perſuaſion was firmeſt amongſt them, yet ſtill they were in the dark

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what it was; and yet much more in the dark, in reference to the means of attaining that future ſtate of happineſs; and this darkneſs begot in them thoſe various fictions and fabulous imaginations, eſpecially among the poets, that even rendered the main hypotheſis more doubtful than otherwiſe it would have been. And thoſe various ſuperſtitions, and idolatrous worſhips and rites, and performances, which they deſigned as the means of attaining that future happineſs, which they thus darkly, and under various fabulous diſguiſes, entertained.

Secondly: If we come to the diſcoveries made unto the Jews, which were certainly much greater than thoſe that the Gentiles had by the light of nature; yet this we have reaſon to think, that although many excellent men among them did, through thoſe many types, and ſhadows, as it were at a diſtance, ſee the heavenly Canaan, and the Meſſiah, through whom it was to be attained; yet the Divine diſpenſation under the law was dark and obſcure in relation to the eſtate of future rewards and puniſhments, in compariſon of what is revealed in the Goſpel: their promiſes were, for the moſt part, of temporal benefits, and their threatnings of temporal puniſhments; and their worſhip and ſervices were very much under ſhadows and external adminiſtrations, ſo were their rewards and puniſhments.

Yet it muſt be agreed, that even under that dark adminiſtration, there were greater evidences of the future life than were manifeſted generally to other nations; the examples of the aſſumption of Enoch and Elias, the revivings of the Shunamite's ſon, buried in the Prophet's grave, and the ſeveral paſſages in Job xix. 25, Iſa. xxvi. 19. Ezek. xxxvii. Dan. xii. 2. and divers other paſſages in the Old Teſtament; together with a common received tradition among that nation, did give them a belief or perſuaſion of a life to come after this, and of the reſurrection; and this the Apoſtle witneſſeth of the patriarchs and holy men under the Old Teſtament, Heb. xi. 10, 13, 14, 35, &c. And ſo far this perſuaſion was ſettled in that people, that in the time of our Saviour, and unto this day, the perſuaſion

ſuaſion of a future life, and the Reſurrections was generally received among them; excepting only the ſect of the Sadducees.

But although this be certainly true, yet theſe things are evident: viz. 1. That the doctrine of the Reſurrection, and the future life, was not ſo clearly delivered under the Old Teſtament, as under the New. 2. That the proof and evidence thereof was not ſo plain and convincing under the Old Teſtament, as under the New. 3. That the manner and circumſtances thereof were not ſo explicitly and directly delivered under the Old Teſtament, as under the New; as will appear in what enſues.

Thirdly: Therefore touching the diſcoveries of Life and Immortality by the Goſpel of Chriſt Jeſus, the ſame Goſpel hath theſe prelations[1] and pre-eminences in relation thereunto; viz. 1. It doth contain a full and explicit narrative thereof. 2. It doth deliver a full and clear method of the attaining of the ſtate of happineſs, and avoiding the ſtate of miſery that it thus diſcovers. 3. It evidenceth and aſſerteth the truth and certainty of what it ſo delivers, upon moſt evident and convincing evidences.

Touching the former of theſe, the Goſpel doth principally inſtruct us in theſe two matters in relation to the buſineſs in hand; namely, 1. It doth aſſert, that there is a life to enſue after this tranſitory life, and it reſts not there in that general aſſertion: but 2. It ſhews us, with great plainneſs, what that life is; viz. 1. That it is an everlaſting life; that it is a life of everlaſting rewards and happineſs to the good, of everlaſting puniſhments and miſery to the bad; that there ſhall be, as the way to thoſe everlaſting rewards and puniſhments, a Reſurrection of the good and bad, and a re-union of their bodies and ſouls, and a change of thoſe that are living. That this ſhall be effected by the voice of an Arch-angel, proclaiming the laſt Judgment with ſummoning all to it. That hereupon an univerſal judgment ſhall paſs upon every man, ſhewing us, who ſhall be the Judge, what ſhall be the rule of his judg-

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ment, what the evidences, what the ſentence, what the execution of either ſentence; namely, of abſolution, a perfect enjoyment of everlaſting happineſs, in an immortal ſoul, united with a glorious, ſpiritualized and immortal body: and of the ſentence of condemnation, with an everlaſting ſeparation from the comfortable preſence of God, and an everlaſting concluſion of ſoul and body under the torments of hell fire. And all theſe diſcoveries are made plainly, evidently, and intelligible to the ſenſe of every ordinary capacity, together with the circumſtances of time, place, perſons, company, and all other things that may render the whole manifeſtation plain, perſpicuous, intelligible, and reasonable.

2. The ſecond thing the Goſpel diſcovers, is the means and method of the attaining of that life of happineſs, and avoiding that life of miſery. And ſurely, without this, the diſcovery of the former had not been ſo uſeful to mankind; it might indeed amuſe, and aſtoniſh, and perplex him, to know, that there ſhould be ſuch a future ſtate, either of happineſs or miſery, unto one of which all mankind was conſigned. But it could not ſettle, nor compoſe him, without the knowledge of the means of obtaining ſo great a good, and avoiding ſo great an evil as this proſpect diſcovers: the Goſpel therefore hath not only diſcovered theſe two great, though different ſentiments, of the future life, but hath alſo laid open, and diſcovered the track, the path, the way to avoid the one, and attain the other: even a plain, and certain, and ſafe, and infallible way; namely, the repentance for ſin paſt, obedience for the time to come, and faith in the Son of God, who is the reſurrection, the way, the truth and the life: and his doctrine and directions are plainly ſet out in the Goſpel, intelligible to every common underſtanding, and eaſy to any ſincere and honeſt endeavour.

3. The third relation and advantage of the Goſpel,

in reference to this diſcovery of Life and Immortality, is that it doth not only give that clear, and explicit diſcovery thereof beforementioned, but alſo it gives the moſt full and clear evidence, that what it ſo diſcovers, is moſt certainly and infallibly true; and annexeth to the diſcovery a full and convincing manifeſtation of the truth of the thing ſo diſcovered, anſwerable to the weight and importance of the thing diſcovered.

It is very true, that Almighty God, out of his care and providence over mankind, in order to their everlaſting end, hath been graciouſly pleaſed to afford unto mankind certain evidences of this great truth, of the immortality of the ſoul, and a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments; as namely, 1. A ſecret anticipation, as it were, in the minds and conſciences of the generality of mankind, of this truth. 2. An univerſal tradition thereof, which hath, in great meaſure, reached unto the generality of mankind, and by them been commonly received: which although it hath been handed over from man to man, yet we have all the reaſon imaginable to believe it real at firſt, by ſome means in its firſt original, delivered out to the parents of mankind, by revelation from God himſelf. 3. An admirable congruity of this ſuppoſition, both to the juſtice and perfection, which, even by the light of nature, we are bound to attribute to Almighty God; and alſo a ſuitableneſs and congruity thereof to the condition and exigence of mankind, and the providential regiment and ordering thereof.

But inaſmuch as by length of time, and diſtance of this firſt revelation, and the want of a perſpicuous evidence of the manner of giving out of this firſt revelation, and alſo for that by the prevalence of the corruptions, and decays of the nature of men, this great important truth of the future life of rewards and puniſhments, did, or at leaſt might languiſh and decay in the minds of men; Almighty God hath been

pleaſed

pleaſed, by reiterated and repeated revelations of this truth, by new editions of revelations thereof, in his written Word, to reinforce the ſame, that ſo it might be more effectual, operative, and forcible upon mankind, in order to the right ordering of his life here, and the attaining of his great and everlaſting end.

And this he began to do in the Old Teſtament, under the diſpenſation of the Jewiſh œconomy; but far more clearly and univerſally under the Evangelical Diſpenſation by Chriſt Jeſus, and with far greater advantage and conviction of the truth and certainty thereof.

The evidence and manifeſtation of the truth and certainty of this ſuppoſition, is ſeen principally in theſe things:

1. That he that made this diſcovery, was the beſt able to give us the true ſtate of mankind after death; for, being the Son of God, a teacher ſent from him, and acquainted with all his will, none could give us a more perfect account of what God Almighty intended or deſigned touching the children of men. For it is moſt certain, that the whole ſtreſs of the buſineſs, touching the future ſtate of mankind, muſt principally and primarily depend upon the moſt wiſe, juſt, yet free diſpoſal and counſel of Almighty God. He therefore, and he only, who was fully acquainted with the real purpoſe and deſign of Almighty God, touching mankind, muſt needs be able to give us a full and complete account of this great and hidden counſel, which could only lie in the knowledge of God himſelf, or of ſuch a one to whom he was pleaſed to reveal it: when the Rich Man was in hell, he deſired that ſome perſon might be ſent from the dead, to acquaint his brethren with the ſtate of men after death; and he thought, that a relation from ſuch a perſon, who had ſeen or experienced that ſta e, ſhould be the moſt credible and effectual means to gain

aſſent from the living. But had he underſtood, that the ſame God, who not only underſtood the ſtate of mankind after death, by what he had ſeen touching them that were already departed this life, but alſo perfectly knew the mind and purpoſe of his Father touching mankind, ſhould have come in the fleſh, and manifeſt himſelf to be the Son of God; and that he came to acquaint mankind with his Father's counſel and purpoſe touching the future ſtate of mankind, he would have deſired no other meſſenger to acquaint his brethren therewith.

2. Chriſt did not only declare, and profeſs himſelf to be the Son of God, a teacher ſent from God; nor did he only publiſh this great declaration and diſcovery touching the future ſtate of mankind, and that he was ſent into the world on purpoſe to acquaint the world with his meſſage; but alſo he did, by the plaineſt and greateſt evidence imaginable, or that could poſſibly be deſired to acquire credibility, manifeſtly declare and prove that his miſſion and meſſage was unqueſtionably true; namely, by the miracles he did, by the holineſs of his life, and by dying to atteſt and aſſert it.

2. The great and admirable work of his own reſurrection, did give an invincible evidence of the truth as of all other his doctrines, ſo eſpecially of theſe touching the Immortality of the Soul, the Reſurrection, and the future ſtate after death; and the Reſurrection of Chriſt hath a double force, evidence, or conviction in this reſpect:

1. This Reſurrection of Chriſt was indeed the greateſt and crowning miracle of his whole life; and as his other miracles did atteſt the truth of his miſſion and doctrine, ſo this being the moſt ſignal and weighty of all, upon the effecting or not effecting whereof, the whole credit of his miſſion and doctrine depended, and alſo being of the higheſt nature of any of the reſt of his miracles, did moſt effectually and conſummately

mately ſeal the truth of his miſſion, and the very divineneſs and credit of all his other miracles: for he was declared the Son of God with power, by the Reſurrection from the dead. And hence it is that there is no one thing in the Goſpel hath more evidence of fact to prove the truth and reality, nor greater weight laid upon it, than that Chriſt was really dead, and did really riſe again from the dead.

2. But further, the Reſurrection of Chriſt ſeems to be in a moſt ſpecifical and appropriate manner applicable and applied to prove the Reſurrection of the dead, and future eſtate of mankind after death; it is the great ſtumbling-block in the way of the faith of men, to think, how there ſhould be a life after death. The Athenian Philoſophers mocked, when they heard of it, as a thing incredible [1]. And if men would be but conquered from this difficulty, the greateſt difficulty were overcome. And indeed the Reſurrection of Chriſt ſeems to be the greateſt pledge imaginable, not only of the poſſibility of a future ſtate after death, but the real exiſtence of it. And therefore that excellent ſermon of Paul to the Athenians [2], lays the great weight of the truth of the judgment to come, and the future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments, upon this: 'Becauſe he hath 'appointed a day wherein he will judge the world in 'righteouſneſs, by that man whom he hath ordained, 'whereof he hath given aſſurance unto all men, in that 'he hath raiſed him from the dead.' As if he ſhould have ſaid, Ye Athenian Philoſophers, it is apparent that one of the great obſtacles of your belief of the judgment to come, and the future ſtate of good and evil, after death, is, that you doubt whether the ſoul be capable of fruition or paſſion without the body; and you cannot believe it poſſible, that there can be a retreat from a full and complete ſeparation of the body to life again; your philoſophical principles oppoſe it. Behold! I tell you, that God hath ap-

[1] Acts xvii. 32. [2] Acts xvii. 22.

pointed to judge the world by Chriſt; the ſame Chriſt hath ſaid ſo in that Goſpel which I come to publiſh to you; and, at once to ſeal and evidence the truth he ſo declared, and to convince you of your vain confidence in your philoſophical perſuaſions, that the ſame Chriſt was dead, died a violent death, his blood poured out upon the ground, and lay in the grave till the third day, that all the world might aſcertain that he was fully dead, and that of ſuch a death, that if any were incapable of reviving again, he was, his blood, the vehicle of life, ſpilt upon the ground: yet this Chriſt lived again the third day, to aſſure the world of the truth of his word, that he would judge the world; and of the poſſibility and truth of your reſurrection and mine, by the divine power: 'He is riſen from the dead, 'and become the firſt fruits of them that ſleep[1].'

[1] 1 Cor. xv. 20.

ON THE

DAY OF PENTECOST.

'ſabbaths ſhall be complete, even unto the morrow 'after the ſeventh ſabbath ſhall ye number fifty 'days [1]', &c.

This Feaſt of Pentecoſt, it ſeems, was always to be the morrow after the ſabbath-day, or the firſt day of the week: and although our computation and the computation of the Jews, in relation to their Paſchal ſolemnity, differed, yet it ſeems herein they both agree that it was to be on the firſt day of the week, only our computation of fifty days includes our Eaſter-day; their computation of the forty days began from the Paſchal, excluſive of the firſt day of the feaſt.

Though we have it not expreſſed in the Scripture, yet it is generally received among the Jews, that the reaſon of the inſtitution of this feaſt, was, in remembrance of the giving of the Law upon Mount Sinai, which was, as they ſay, the fiftieth day after the firſt day of the firſt Paſſover, when the people departed out of Egypt. And beſides this tradition, the holy text tells us [2], that they came to Sinai in the third month: and [3] the third day following the Law was given: and if we ſhall reckon their months like the months of the Egyptians, viz. thirty days to a month; then reckoning fifty days from the fifteenth day of the firſt month excluſively, from the giving of the Law, it happened upon the fifth day of the third month; but if we reckon them by Lunar months, one is twenty-nine days, the other thirty days; then it is the ſeventh day of the third month: either of which agrees thus far with the holy text, and alſo with the tradition of the Jews, touching the reaſon of the inſtitution of this ſolemn feaſt, that the law was given upon Kar, near the fiftieth day after their departure out of Egypt.

Touching the congruity or correſpondency between the typical Paſchal and the true Paſſover, the death of Chriſt, the ſame ſeems plain: 1. Chriſt our Paſſover,

[1] Lev. xxiii. 15. [2] Exod. xix. 1. [3] Exod. xix. 11.

a Lamb

a Lamb without blemiſh, was ſlain: the Paſchal lamb was an emblem, and a prefiguration of the innocence and purity of the Meſſias, 'The Lamb of God that 'taketh away the ſin of the world.' 2. Not a bone of the Paſchal lamb was to be broken [1], fulfilled in our Saviour's death [2]. Again, 3. The blood of the Paſchal lamb was to be ſtruck upon the door-poſts, as a propitiation againſt the vengeance of the deſtroying angel [3]. So the blood of Chriſt was a propitiation for the ſins of the world: he was 'the Lamb of God 'that taketh away the ſins of the world.' 4. But that which I eſpecially obſerve, is the ſeaſon wherein Chriſt ſuffered, being exactly that day, in the evening whereof the Paſchal lamb was to be ſlain, or the fourteenth day of the firſt month: for it is plain, Chriſt kept the Paſſover, and inſtituted his Supper the night before his crucifixion [4]. The ſame night he was brought to the council of the Jews, where the High Prieſt ſat as chief; and there they examined him, and paſſed judgment of death upon him [5], &c. The next day they brought him to Pilate, who condemned him to death, at the third hour, or nine of the clock the ſame day; this day is called, 'the Preparation of the Sabbath [6].'

The Preparation; that is, the day before the Sabbath [7]. 'The preparation and the Sabbath drew on [8].' 'The preparation of the Paſſover [9].' And therefore the High Prieſt and Scribes entered not into the Judgment-hall, leſt they ſhould be defiled, but that they might eat the Paſſover. 'And the Jews, becauſe it 'was the preparation, that the bodies might not re-'main upon the croſs upon the Sabbath-day (for that 'day was a great day) beſought Pilate [10],' &c. It was a great day in itſelf, for it was the fifteenth day of the month, wherein was to be a ſolemn convocation by the firſt inſtitution, as of, 'the firſt day of the feaſt of 'unleavened bread [11].' And it was a great day, be-

[1] Exod. xii. 46. [2] John xix. 36. [3] Exod. xii. 7.
[4] Matth. xxvi. 17, 20. [5] Matth. xxvi. 57. [6] Matth. xxvii. 62.
[7] Mark xv. 42. [8] Luke xxiii. 54. [9] John xix. 14.
[10] John xviii. 28. [11] Exod. xii.

cauſe

'cauſe the Jewiſh Sabbath, or the ſeventh day of the week, did follow with this ſolemn feaſt. After the burial of our Saviour, the women brought ſpices, but reſted the Sabbath-day [1]. But the Scribes and Phariſees reſted not, for they reſorted to Pilate, to have the ſepulchre ſealed, viz. the day that followed the day of preparation. 'The next day after the Sabbath, early, 'namely, the firſt day of the week, the women reſorted 'to the ſepulchre with the ſpices [2].'

This gives us an exact journal of our Saviour's death and reſurrection: he was crucified upon the ſixth day, the preparation of the Sabbath, and the preparation of the Paſſover; he reſted in the grave the ſeventh day of the week, and aroſe the firſt day of the week, becauſe the third day from his crucifixion.

So that Chriſt our Paſſover was ſlain that day wherein the Paſchal lamb was killed; namely, the fourteenth day of the firſt month, for that was the regular time of killing the paſſover: though in caſe of any legal impediment it might be protracted or deferred to the fourteenth day of the ſecond month [3].

And it ſeems the Jewiſh computation of the months being lunar, their computation of the fourteenth day of the firſt month, was the fourteenth day after the firſt full moon that happened after the vernal equinox; and this cuſtom was long kept among the Chriſtians, till by the weſtern church, under Conſtantine, it was reduced to be held upon the Lord's day, according to a cycle eſtabliſhed and obſerved in the church; whereas the Jewiſh paſcha fell ſometimes on one day of the week, ſometimes on another, as their *luna quarta decima* [4] happened.

Now that which [illegible] ſome difficulty, touching the day of the Meſſiah's paſſion, viz. whether it were upon that day, in the evening whereof the paſchal lamb was ſlain; or the fourteenth day of the firſt month; or whether the next day after; namely, the fifteenth

[1] Luke xxiii. 56. [2] Matth. xxvii. 62. Matth. xxviii. 1. Mark xvi. 1. John xx. 1. [3] Numb. ix. 11. 2. Chron. xiii. 15.
[4] fourteenth moon.

day,

day, which was the great ſolemn feaſt, or the firſt day of the feaſt of unleavened bread, ſeems to be this, becauſe it is apparent by the Evangeliſt, that our Saviour did eat the paſſover the night before his paſſion; and conſequently upon the fourteenth day of the firſt month, according to the Moſaical inſtitution, and conſequently the day of his paſſion was upon the firſt day of the feaſt of unleavened bread: which, though it were the firſt day, yet it was antecedent to the Jewiſh ſabbath that followed the next day.

To this it is variouſly anſwered: 1. Some ſay, that although by the Divine inſtitution, the paſſover was to be eaten the fourteenth day at even, at which time our Lord did eat it with his diſciples, according to the true legal inſtitution; yet the Jews had a tradition among them, that if the fourteenth day of the firſt month happened upon the firſt, third, or fifth day of the week, the Paſchal lamb was not to be that night, but the night following: and conſequently the lamb was ſlain the fifteenth day, and the ſolemn firſt day of the feaſt of unleavened bread was to ſucceed upon the ſixteenth day: and accordingly it was done here; Chriſt and his diſciples did eat the paſſover upon the fourteenth day, according to the Divine inſtitution, and the generality of the Jews upon the fifteenth day, according to their tradition. 2. Again others ſay, that upon eminent occaſions it was lawful to anticipate a day in the eating of the paſſover; and that our Lord foreſeeing his time was drawing near, wherein he muſt ſuffer, intending to eat the paſſover, and inſtitute his ſupper before he left the world, anticipated the celebration of the paſſover: but this ſeems hard, for it appears by the three Evangeliſts, that the diſciples took notice that the ſolemn time was come, and ſpake firſt of it to our Lord [1]. Therefore, 3. Some think that the council of the Jews having a reſolution to deſtroy our Saviour, and yet before the great ſolemnity of the feaſt [2], did procraſtinate the ſolemnity a day beyond

[1] Matth. xxvi. 17. Mark xiv. 12. [2] Matth. xxvi. 5. Mark xiv. 2.

the

the ſet time; which the Sanhedrim, or the great Council of the Jews, pretended power to do; being thoſe that did authoritatively decide the time of the new moon, and their occaſional intercalation of days, to put off the ſolemnity for a day or more, according to their deciſions. Whether theſe, or any of theſe, be the true cauſe, yet it is apparent, that the eating of the paſſover by Chriſt was upon the fifth day of the week at even, or upon the Thurſday; and that the eating of the paſſover by the generality of the people and prieſts, was upon the ſixth day of the week at even, at which day Chriſt our paſſover was ſlain.

But beſides this concordance in the time of the death of Chriſt, upon the Paſchal ſolemnity, there are ſome obſervables, touching this great feaſt, that ſeem to bear ſome prefigurations of our Meſſiah, and the end of his ſuffering. I do not remember above five remembrances of the Paſchal ſolemnity under the old law, viz. 1. Upon the deliverance out of Egypt [1], agreeing with the great deliverance by Chriſt, from the ſpiritual Egypt, the bondage of ſin and death. 2. Upon the coming of the people into Canaan [2]; an emblem of the way opened into the heavenly Canaan by the ſuffering of Chriſt. 3. That under Joſiah, upon a great reformation of idolatry by him [3]: And, 4. That after the re-edification of the temple and reſtitution of the people from captivity [4], who was a great repairer of the Jewiſh church. 5. That under Hezekiah [5], which, though it were not obſerved at the regular time, but in the fourteenth day of the ſecond month, yet it was upon a great reformation of the church, and a renovation of their covenant with God. 6. There ſeems alſo to be a remembrance of a great paſſover kept by Solomon [6], which probably was after his finiſhing of the temple. And as all theſe perſons, Moſes, Joſhua, Solomon, Hezekiah, Joſiah, and Ezra, were, in many things, types of the Meſſiah, ſo the

[1] Exod. xii. [2] Josh. v. 10. [3] 2 Kings xiii. 21.
[4] Ezra vi. 21. [5] 2 Chron. xxx. [6] 2 Chron. xxx. 27.

buſineſs

buſineſs or occaſions that gave theſe ſignal ſolemnities, were ſuch as bore a great analogy to that work that our Saviour, in his paſſion, mightily performed; namely, the deliverance of his people from the ſlavery of ſin, and death, and hell, the opening of the kingdom of Heaven to all believers; the reformation of the errors and lives of mankind; the ſolemnization of a new covenant between God and man; and the erection and eſtabliſhing of a living temple unto God; namely, his Church, 'againſt which the gates of hell ſhould not, 'prevail.' And although I doubt not there were often anniverſary Paſchal feaſts, between the coming out of Egypt, and the return from the Captivity; yet the ſpirit of God, taking a more particular notice of theſe great and ſolemn paſſovers, ſeems to give us occaſion to obſerve them with relation to Chriſt our great paſſover.

The things remarkable in the analogy of the feaſt of Pentecoſt, ſeem to be theſe:

1. That as there were fifty-one days from the firſt paſcha, and the giving of the law (in memory whereof the feaſt of Pentecoſt was inſtituted) ſo there were the like meaſure of time between the oblation of Chriſt, the true Paſchal Lamb, and the ſignal miſſion of the Holy Ghoſt, in the feaſt of Pentecoſt.

2. That upon that time, wherein it pleaſed God to promulge the law, the tenour of the old covenant with the people of Iſrael, he alſo choſe to publiſh the new covenant in the blood of Chriſt to all mankind.

3. That as the promulgation of the Law was eſpecially with two ſenſible manifeſtations; namely, the great ſound of the trumpet, that 'waxed louder and 'louder [1],' and the audible giving of the Law by the voice of God [2], and the voice of thunder, all which affected the ſenſe of hearing, and alſo the appearance of fire and ſmoke, the mountain burning with fire to the midſt of heaven, which affected the ſenſe of ſee-

[1] Exod. xix. 16. [2] Exod. xx.

ing;

ing; both which great impreſſions upon thoſe two ſenſes of diſcipline, are briefly deſcribed by the Apoſtle [1]: ſo this promulgation of the Goſpel was made upon this day, though not with equal terror, yet in an analogy of external ſigns: 1. To the eye; the Holy Ghoſt deſcending upon the Apoſtles in cloven tongues like fire. 2. To the ſenſe of hearing; namely, the ruſhing mighty wind, anſwering to the thunder and voice of the trumpet in the giving of the Law; and the ſpeaking with tongues, not only audible, but intelligible, to people of ſeveral nations and languages.

4. That as the law was publiſhed to the full aſſembly of the people of Iſrael, ſo the Goſpel was publiſhed to a full aſſembly of perſons of almoſt all nations [2]. For Jeruſalem, as it was a great city, that received many foreigners, ſo eſpecially at this ſolemn feaſt, many Jews and proſelytes reſorted hither from all countries of their diſperſion.

5. That as the Law was publiſhed in the Mount of God, Sinai in the wilderneſs; ſo this ſolemn promulgation of the Goſpel was made in the city of Jeruſalem, ordinarily ſtyled, 'The City of God, and Mount Sion.' Thus as the promulgation of the Law began in Mount Sinai, ſo the promulgation of the Goſpel began in Mount Sion, and from thence derived through all the world.

Beſides what have been obſerved, there ſeems alſo a ſtrange ſuitableneſs and congruity in proportion of times and occaſions. I ſhall reckon up ſome of the former, and ſome others.

1. The oblation of the Meſſiah upon the day that the Paſchal lamb was to be ſlain.

2. His reſt in the grave upon that double ſabbath, as I may call it; for the firſt day of the feaſt of unleavened bread, wherein no work was to be done, fell upon the ſeventh, or ſabbath-day of the week.

3. His reſurrection was upon the firſt day of the week, the day of the creation of all things, and the day

[1] Heb. xii. 18, 19. [2] Acts xxv.

appointed

appointed by the law for the oblation of the ſheaf of firſt fruits, prefiguring the Reſurrection of Chriſt, who is therefore called the 'firſt fruits of them that ſleep,' 1 Cor. xv. 20. compared with Lev. xxiii. 10. So that although the Paſchal feaſt was not limited to any certain day of the week, yet the coincidence thereof to the ſeventh day of the week, made an admirable harmony in the incidence of times: for,

4. The wiſe God chooſing this ſeaſon for the ſuffering of the Meſſiah, gave our Saviour's reſurrection to be the firſt day of the week, which we commemorate in the place of the Jewiſh ſabbath; and gave the feaſt of Pentecoſt to be likewiſe the firſt day of the week, whereby there happened a coincidence of two great matters; namely, the day of the reſurrection, and the day of the miſſion of the Holy Spirit, which gave the occaſion to the Chriſtian church to keep the feaſt of Pentecoſt upon the Lord's day; namely, the fiftieth day after the *pascha christianum:* ſo the coincidence and communication of both theſe days gave teſtimony and atteſtation each to other; whereas if the Jewiſh paſcha had not happened upon the Jewiſh ſabbath, the next Pentecoſt could not have happened upon the Chriſtian ſabbath.

And when the day of Pentecost was fully come, they were all with one accord in one place, &c.

I WILL conſider, upon this occaſion, theſe things: 1. The reaſon of the day of Pentecoſt, and the reaſon of that inſtitution. 2. The reaſon why this great diſpenſation was at this time, and the analogy it bears with the inſtitution. 3. The parts of this miraculous diſpenſation. 4. The end and uſe of it, and the inſtruction ariſing from it.

For the firſt of theſe: we read [1] of the inſtitution of the paſſover (the greateſt Jewiſh feaſt and ſolemnity),

[1] Exod. xii. 2, 6.

and the time of its celebration, and the reaſon of it. 1. There is the inſtitution, or change of the months. 'This month, viz. Abib, ſhall be unto you the beginning of months, the firſt month of the year.' 2. There is the deſignation of that portion of this month, for the celebration of the paſſover, in the tenth day of this month, every houſholder was to ſeparate the Paſchal lamb; and in the fourteenth thereof they were to kill and eat it, at the evening of that day [1]. Again, 3. There is ſet down the ſolemnity that was to be uſed touching it; wherein, among divers others, there were theſe: it was to be a lamb without blemiſh; it was to be roaſted whole, not a bone thereof to be broken; it was to be eaten with unleavened bread, and bitter herbs, and in haſte, and nothing thereof to be left till the morning. 4. There is the reaſon of the inſtitution, viz. to be a perpetual memorial of the goodneſs and mercy of God unto that people: 1. In ſparing and paſſing over their families, when the deſtroying angel ſlew all the firſt-born of the Egyptians. 2. In bringing them out of that ſtate of captivity and bondage, into a ſtate of liberty and freedom [2].

At the ſeaſon wherein this feaſt was to be celebrated, they were to preſent unto Almighty God a ſheaf of their firſt fruits of their harveſt, as a recognition and tribute unto God [3]: for, according to the temperament of that climate, their fruits were early, ſo that there might be that preſent brought. This was to be done on the morrow after the ſabbath [4], which ſeems to be the morrow after their Paſchal ſabbath: from this day they were to account fifty days unto the morrow of the ſeventh ſabbath [5], and this was the feaſt of Pentecoſt: which feaſt was, according to the tradition of the Jews, inſtituted in memory of the giving of the law upon mount Sinai. And though this reaſon be not expreſſed thereof in the Holy Scripture, yet the diſtance from the time of their paſſing out of Egypt,

[1] Exod. xii. 3, 6. [2] Exod. xii. 26, 51. [3] Lev. xxiii. 10.
[4] Lev. xxiii. 11. [5] Lev. xxiii. 16.

unto

unto the time of the giving of the Law upon Sinai, ſeems to anſwer the diſtance between the Paſchal ſolemnity, and that of Pentecoſt; for they came out of Egypt the fourteenth day of the firſt month, the day of their Paſchal celebration [1]. They came to the wilderneſs of Sinai in the third month, 'the ſame day came they into the wilderneſs of Sinai [2]:' upon the third day following was the Law given upon Sinai, in that miraculous and terrible manner [3]. It is not expreſſed indeed what day of that third month it was that the people came to Sinai, or that the law was given: if we ſhall reckon the Jewiſh months to be Lunar, conſiſting of twenty-nine days and a half to a month, or, which amounts to the ſame account, one month to be *plena*, or full, conſiſting of thirty days; the other to be *cava*, conſiſting of twenty-nine days; two months made up fifty-nine days; to which, if we ſhould add three days more of the third month, the account will be ſixty-two days; out of which, if we ſubduct fourteen days, there will remain forty-eight; whereunto, if we add the fourteenth day itſelf, and the next day after, from which the account muſt be made, unto the morrow after the ſeventh ſabbath, there will remain fifty days: ſo that upon this account, they came into Sinai upon the firſt day of the third month, and the law was given upon the third day of the ſame month: ſo that this Feaſt of Pentecoſt, commonly in the old law called the Feaſt of Weeks, was inſtituted as a ſolemn memorial of that great and miraculous giving of the Law, by Almighty God, upon mount Sinai, the one-and-fiftieth day after the coming out of Egypt, and of the firſt Paſchal celebration.

But the truth is, the computation of the fifty days, was not from the morrow of the firſt day of the Paſchal feaſt, but from the morrow of that ſabbath, that happened firſt in the Paſchal feaſt: for the Jews did not obſerve their Paſchal ſolemnity as we Chriſtians do, upon the firſt ſabbath that happened after the

[1] Exod. xii. 42, 51. [2] Exod. xix. 1. [3] Exod. xix. 11.

fourteenth day inclusively after the new moon; but upon the fourteenth day itself, upon whatsoever day of the week it happened: for instance, if the fourteenth day happened upon the Wednesday, they kept then their passover, and the first sabbath or Saturday then fell within eight days of their Paschal solemnity; and the presenting of the sheaf was the next day after that first sabbath, being always the first day of the week; and from that first day of the week inclusively, was the account of the fifty days for the celebration of the Feast of Weeks, or Pentecost, which therefore always happened upon the first day of the week; for, from the morrow after the first day, next after the first sabbath, in the Paschal solemnity, unto the morrow after the seventh sabbath, reckoning both terms inclusively, was their Pentecost always observed, which made up their full fifty days; and therefore, though their coming to Sinai was in the beginning of the third month, yet it is not possible to determine in what precise day of that month they came to Sinai, because we know not precisely what day of the week their first Paschal, or the fourteenth day of the first month, fell; only it seems evident, that the Feast of Weeks, or Pentecost, which began the fiftieth day after the first sabbath, in the Paschal solemnity, was in memory of the Law given upon Sinai, and that it was given the first day of the week, on the fifteenth day after the first sabbath, in the Paschal feast.

2. As to the second matter, why this great dispensation, viz. the visible and audible manifestation upon the apostolical company, was poured out upon this day; the reason seems to be this: the greatest part of the Jewish solemnities were intended as typical to the Messiah, that when he should come into the world, these, as well as the ancient prophecies, should bear witness to him. And this is very eminently made good in these two great solemnities, the Paschal and the Pentecost. The Messiah was the true Paschal Lamb, prefigured in that of the Law; he was to be slain,

ſlain, yet not a bone of him to be broken; he was to bring life and immortality to light by the Goſpel, and to deliver the elect of God out of that ſpiritual Egypt, the bondage of ſin, and death, and hell, into the liberty of the ſons of God; and as all the ſolemnities in the Paſchal ſacrifice were fulfilled in the true Paſchal Lamb, Chriſt Jeſus, ſo he took that very preciſe time to be offered up; wherein, according to the Jewiſh law, the Paſchal lamb was to be ſlain, and that ſolemnity celebrated.

Our Lord roſe again from the dead the firſt day of the week; he converſed upon earth about forty days, and then he was viſibly taken into Heaven. By his life, his death, his miracles, his reſurrection, his aſcenſion, he was effectually declared to be the true Meſſias, the great law-giver of the world, the light, and hope, and ſalvation of the whole world, both Jews and Gentiles. And as Almighty God, by the hands of Moſes, and by the ſervice of angels, gave his law to the people of Iſrael; ſo the ſame God having appointed his Son to be heir of all things, the head, the law-giver, and governor of his family on earth: this great law-giver gave his law, not only to the Jews, but to all mankind: and for the more ſolemn publication of this law, and to bear witneſs to the authority of it, he chooſeth to uſe ſuch circumſtances, as though they were not in all particulars the ſame with thoſe of the giving of the law, upon mount Sinai, eſpecially in the terror of it, yet they did bear a great analogy with them.

1. In Sinai, there was the miraculous voice of an angel, in the articular delivery of the moral law: here was a miraculous delivery of the wonderful works of God in the ſeveral languages of the world.

2. In Sinai there was an appearance of fire, flaming up to the midſt of heaven: here was the appearance of fire ſitting upon every apoſtle, in the figure of cloven tongues.

3. There was the voice of a trumpet, that waxed louder and louder: here a voice from Heaven as of a

ruſhing mighty wind, that filled the houſe wherein they were.

4. As Almighty God choſe the fiftieth day after the Paſchal ſabbath, for the promulgation of the law, which had therefore this ſolemnity of Pentecoſt inſtituted in memory thereof; ſo our Lord chooſeth that very feaſt and day, fifty days after his own Paſchal oblation, to promulge to all mankind his evangelical law in this miraculous manner.

Indeed there are two circumſtances that difference the one from the other. 1. The promulgation of the Law was not only miraculous, but terrible, as the hiſtory of it evidenceth. But this promulgation, although miraculous, yet it was gentle and ſweet, bearing a proportion and analogy to the nature of the Law-giver, who was meek and gentle, not willing to break a bruiſed reed: and bearing alſo an analogy to the nature of the meſſage and law that was to be promulged; a meſſage of peace and mercy, and reconciliation; an eaſy yoke, and a law of love, and therefore not fit to be publiſhed with thunder as with a ſoft ſtill voice. 2. The promulgation of that Law, though ſecondarily and conſequentially it was to all mankind, yet principally and immediately it concerned the Jews, and was certainly publiſhed at firſt in that language only. But this law was, in its very firſt deſign, an inſtitution univerſal to all mankind, as well Gentiles as Jews; and therefore it is promulged in all languages and in a voice intelligible to all hearers; and the divine providence ſo ordered it, that it ſhould have hearers of all nations and languages, whereby not only the miracle itſelf, but alſo the matters delivered, were communicated almoſt in a moment, to all quarters of the world, by the auditors of ſeveral nations and languages that were preſent, and heard it, though not without deſerved amazement.

3. The third thing propounded is the conſideration of

of the ſeveral parts or manifeſtations of this great miracle. The power of the Divine Spirit manifeſted itſelf under two kinds of manifeſtations; one kind was viſible, which was objected to the ſenſe of ſight: there appeared unto them cloven tongues, like as of fire, and ſat upon each of them. The other kind of manifeſtation was audible, manifeſted to the ſenſe of hearing.

1. A ſound from heaven, as of a ruſhing mighty wind.

2. A ſpeech with other tongues.

Touching the former of theſe, the viſible ſigns, they were theſe;

1. The figure of the appearance: they were in the figure of cloven tongues, importing the buſineſs or end of this manifeſtation; an emblem of thoſe excellent and miraculous operations, that, together with this appearance and conformable to it, were derived from the ſpirit unto them; namely, divine inſpiration, and variety of languages. Under the Old Teſtament, the ſpirit of God cured the infirmities of the prophet, by touching his tongue or mouth [1]. Under the New Teſtament there are, as it were, new tongues given them fitting them for their offices.

2. The ſeeming matter of them: they were like as of fire, the moſt cleanſing and active element anſwering the prediction of the Baptiſt, 'He ſhall baptize 'you with the Holy Ghoſt and with fire [2].' And of the prophets, 'He is like a refiner's fire. And he 'ſhall purify the ſons of Levi, that they may offer unto 'the Lord an offering in righteouſneſs [3].' He ſent his fiery appearance upon the apoſtles, to actuate and purify, not to conſume them.

3. The poſture of this appearance: it ſat upon each of them, and thereby gave a more forcible and ſenſible demonſtration, that theſe miraculous varieties of tongues they uſed, was, in truth, a ſupernatural effect of a ſupernatural cauſe, manifeſting itſelf in the viſible emblem of cloven tongues.

[1] Iſa. vi. 7, 8. [2] Matth. iii. 11. [3] Mal. iii. 2, 3.

Touching the audible ſigns, they were two.

1. The ſound from heaven as of a ruſhing mighty wind. The Divine Spirit chooſeth many times to reſemble the efficacy, and yet ſecretneſs of his operations, by the reſemblance of wind. 'The wind blow-'eth where it liſteth, and thou heareſt the ſound 'thereof, but canſt not tell whence it cometh, and 'whither it goeth; ſo is every one that is born of the 'Spirit[1].' And in that typical reſurrection of the dry bones[2]. The energy of the Spirit of God giving life to thoſe bones, is reſembled under the expreſſion of wind; the Spirit of God chooſeth this audible emblem to manifeſt his preſence and energy.

The ſecond is that of ſpeaking with divers tongues, intelligible by people of various languages. This continued a peculiar gift of the Spirit of God long in the Church[3]. As this was a great, a miraculous endowment, that illiterate men ſhould in a moment receive a faculty of ſpeaking the languages of ſeveral nations; ſo it was ſeaſonable, in the firſt age of the Church, for the planting and diffuſing of the truths of the Goſpel through the ſeveral parts of the world: and at this time they were fitted with auditors proportionate to this gift; namely, people of ſeveral countries and languages, as well ſtrangers as inhabitants, who were preſent and took notice of it; and could not but publiſh it to their ſeveral countries and correſpondents.

4. The fourth thing propounded is the end of this admirable miracle. The Spirit of God is the ſpirit of wiſdom, and doth not things at random, or only for ſhew and novelty, but for moſt wiſe and excellent ends. The general end was this:

Chriſt, the promiſed Meſſiah, of whom the former prophecies in the Old Teſtament ſpake, to whom the types and ceremonies of the Law pointed, was by the eternal counſel of God appointed the Meſſias, and to bring to the world a new and perfect law, everlaſting righteouſneſs, and the means to attain everlaſting life

[1] John iii. 8. [2] Ezek. xxxvii. [3] 1 Cor. xiv.

and

and happineſs. This doctrine he publiſhed in his life-time, confirmed it with miracles, ſealed it with his death, and put it beyond doubt and controverſy by his reſurrection and aſcenſion.

And becauſe his death was confeſſed by all, but his reſurrection and aſcenſion was, by the malice of the Jews, as much diſcredited as lay in their power; and becauſe if once the truth of the Reſurrection of Chriſt were admitted, it gave ſuch a teſtimony to the truth of this miſſion, and of his doctrine, that exceeded all poſſible contradiction or diſpute; and becauſe the doctrine of Chriſtianity that was now offered to the world, muſt neceſſarily, if entertained, overthrow all the errors and ſuperſtitions of other religions, and conſequently meet with as many enemies in the world as there were earneſt profeſſors of other religions; and becauſe the great buſineſs of the apoſtles of Chriſt was in a ſpecial manner to bear witneſs to the truth of his reſurrection [1], and they were to be the common publiſhers unto the world of theſe great truths; and becauſe the ſame Chriſt, whoſe apoſtles they were for the vindication of that truth that was delivered by himſelf, and was after to be publiſhed by them, had, before his aſcenſion, promiſed a ſignal teſtimony and manifeſtation of the Spirit of God, that ſhould bear witneſs to the truth of Chriſt and his doctrine [2]; therefore upon theſe, and ſuch as theſe important conſiderations, the bleſſed Spirit of God bears witneſs to the truth of the teſtimony, doctrine, and miſſion of the apoſtles, in their very firſt entry upon this great work, of converting the world with ſuch marvellous ſigns and appearances as theſe, ſuch as were obvious to all the ſenſes of diſcipline, to be true and real; and yet ſuch as were of ſuch a nature and kind, as could be no other but ſupernatural and miraculous. And hereby the divine power of Almighty God himſelf, did ſet to his own ſeal and teſtimonial to the truth of the doctrine and miſſion of Chriſt and his apoſtles,

[1] Acts i. 22. [2] Luke xxiv. 49. John xv. 16. Acts i. 4. 8.

with

with the greateſt evidence that it is poſſible for reaſon or ſenſe itſelf to expect or have to the aſſerting of any truth.

And the great enforcement of this evidence reſts not ſo much, that theſe ſtrange and miraculous things were done in groſs, or for themſelves; but in that they were done in order, and upon deſign to juſtify and evidence the truth of fact and doctrines that were delivered by Chriſt and his apoſtles, which had they not been true, we cannot imagine that the glorious God of Heaven would ſend out his own power, and ſet to his own ſeal to juſtify and aſſert them; and yet beſides all this, they are ſet to the juſtification and making good of thoſe truths which were not without a ſtrange evidence of credibility otherwiſe; as, namely, the excellency of the doctrine, concurrence of prophecy, and the concurring teſtimony of many credible perſons that were eye-witneſſes of the reſurrection of Chriſt, which alone, if admitted and believed, gives a teſtimony of the truth of his doctrine and miſſion beyond all contradiction.

And this great teſtimony given by the Spirit of God, in this great, evident, and ſenſible demonſtration, is given out in the firſt beginning of the apoſtolical miniſtry, and that in a ſignal and public manner, that it might gain a preſent, and powerful, and ſucceſsful progreſs in the world. And it was not diſappointed in the event it deſigned, as the teſtimony of the primitive and all enſuing ages abundantly prove; ſo mightily grew the Word of God and prevailed.

That which we may learn from this, and other inſtances of the like kind, is, firſt, to ſettle and eſtabliſh our hearts in the true faith of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and his holy doctrine, ſince we have all the evidences imaginable to juſtify our faith, our reaſon, our ſenſe to believe it; and have all thoſe demonſtrations that any man of common reaſon can expect to ſatisfy us thereof. 2. To render all humble thanks for the goodneſs

lneſs and bounty of Almighty God, who thus
s with us human creatures, condeſcends unto our
res and capacities, complies with our common
: and reaſon, giving us evidences of all ſorts to con-
e and perſuade us to the entertainment and be-
of thoſe things that are our happineſs and felicity
elieve, and omits not any topic that may aſſure
applies to every avenue of our ſouls and hearts
he admiſſion and reception of thoſe truths, in the
f whereof conſiſts our everlaſting bleſſedneſs.

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WORKS OF GOD.

HAVING conſidered the Divine attributes, we come to conſider the Works of God, or thoſe acts of Almighty God, which are terminated in ſomething without himſelf. And theſe are of two kinds.

1. The internal, or immanent works of God, which, though they are within himſelf, yet I call them works, becauſe they are terminated in ſomething without him. And thoſe are of two kinds, viz. his knowledge, or foreknowledge, which relates to God, as we repreſent him to ourſelves, under the notion of an intellectual being: and the counſel or determination of his will, as we repreſent him to ourſelves, as a free agent, or one who works *ſecundum intentionem* [1].

2. The external or tranſient works of Almighty God: and theſe are of two kinds, viz. the work of creation, and the work of providence, or gubernation.

The work of the creation is again of two kinds; viz. *creatio prima*, 'the production of ſomething, or ſimple creation;' and *creatio ſecunda*, 'the production of ſomething out of what pre-exiſted;' but yet ſuch a production as exceeded the activity or power of any natural cauſe; as the production of the heavenly and elementary bodies, the firſt production of manners.

The work of his providence is of two kinds, viz.

Firſt, the general providence that concerns the univerſe, and the particular beings therein, as they are exertions of the Divine Providence, viz.

1. The common influx, whereby every thing is pre-

[1] according to intention.

ſerved

ſerved in *genere entis*; and in the particular nature of *ens tale.*

2. The gubernation, or regiment of every thing.

The ſpecial work of Divine Providence is that which relates to intellectual natures, viz. angels or men.

And that part of the Divine ſpecial providence, relating to men, is of two kinds, viz. that which relates to him, in reference to his temporal ſubſiſtence, civil or political: or that part of the Divine ſpecial providence that concerns man in reference to his everlaſting ſtate or condition, which lets in the whole divine œconomy, in relation to religion and religious governments.

To begin with the firſt of theſe kind of works, the Divine knowledge and fore-knowledge of things.

We muſt premiſe, as we have done formerly, that we are not able to have a right and due conception either of the knowledge, or of the counſel of Almighty God; only thus much we are certain, that it is quite another thing than any thing we can imagine concerning it, and the reaſon is, becauſe we have no other meaſure to frame in ourſelves a conception of knowledge, but only the idea or image of that knowledge which we have in ourſelves, which is utterly unſuitable and diſanalogical to that knowledge which is in God, or the manner or nature of it. It is much more poſſible, that a child of a ſpan long; nay, that a worm, or a fly, might have a juſt and adequate conception of the knowledge of the wiſeſt man in the world, and the manner of it, than it is poſſible for the wiſeſt and moſt knowing man to have a right meaſure or eſtimate of the knowledge of God, or of the manner or nature of it. And the reaſon is apparent; for the knowledge of a child and a man differ only in degrees; the knowledge of a worm and a man, though they differ not only in degrees, but in kind and nature, and therefore cannot form to itſelf the conception or image of the knowledge of a man for it; but yet they agree in this, that even the knowledge of a man is *quid finitum:* but the knowledge

knowledge that a man hath, and the knowlege that God hath, differed not only in degree, and in their kind and nature, but differ as *quod finitum*, and *quod infinitum*; and conſequently impoſſible that the finite nature of the knowledge of man can be any meaſure or image of the infinite knowledge of Almighty God.

This therefore we may ſuppoſe concerning the knowledge of God; indeed rather what it is not, than what it is.

1. It is not barely an objective knowledge, or ſuch a knowledge as ariſeth from the impreſſion, that the *ſcibile*, or 'thing known,' makes upon the intellect. And this is evident, becauſe that this divine knowledge pre-exiſts all things that are without him to be known; he knows all things before they had any being, and therefore before they had an objective impreſſion upon that which knows.

2. It is not a diſcurſive, or rational knowledge; for that ſeems proper to the human nature, deducing of one thing from another, and collecting the effect from the cauſe; for this is a gradual ſucceſſive knowledge, a manner of acting incompatible to a moſt ſimple and uncompounded being.

3. It is not properly an intuitive knowledge; for all intuition preſuppoſeth ſomewhat pre-exiſting to what is ſo looked into: this ſuppoſition (in reference to the knowledge of Almighty God) muſt either ſuppoſe an intuition of the things themſelves, which is in truth nothing but an objective knowledge. But this ſerves not here, for the knowledge of Almighty God pre-exiſts the very being of all things without him, and therefore it cannot be barely ſuch an intuitive knowledge: or elſe it muſt ſuppoſe a pre-determination of every thing that ſhall be in the divine will; and ſo by the intuition of himſelf, and of his own moſt wiſe and powerful determination, he inſpects whatſoever ſhall be. This, though it be true, yet it takes not up the whole extenſion of the Divine knowledge. For

Almighty

Almighty God doth moſt certainly know ſome things that are not actually within the compaſs of an abſolute and complete determination. He knows not only what ſhall be, but what may be; not only what is within the compaſs of his purpoſe and determination, but what is within the compaſs of his Almighty power and omnipotence; and not only that neither, there is a knowledge which ſome do, and we may call *scientia conditionata*, a knowledge what a free agent would do under ſuch or ſuch an objective motion, though he were not predetermined by the Divine will.

And to put a period to our progreſſion, even negative, in this inquiry into the Divine knowledge, his underſtanding is perfect, unſearchable, and, which is more than all we can elſe ſay, his underſtanding is infinite, exceeding the very compaſs of *scibilia* themſelves, ſo far as they have, or indeed can have, any actual exiſtence; for that which is potentially infinite is nevertheleſs impoſſible to be actually infinite: but the divine knowledge is actually infinite, for it underſtands its own infinite being, which were enough to denominate it ſuch, were there no other *scibile*; and in the underſtanding of its own infinite being, it underſtands its infinite power, and is, as I may ſay, commenſurate to the uttermoſt activity of that infinite power: and although, what may be, is but *quid potentiale*, for it is not, and poſſibly never ſhall be, yet he actually underſtands whatſoever may be, or that hath *potentiam non repugnantiæ* to be, though it never ſhall be actually.

Secondly: Touching the counſel of the divine will, it is a depth and height above all created underſtanding to ſearch into. All things are brought about by the moſt powerful counſel of his will; and yet he altereth not that law or rule of working which he hath implanted into every thing, unleſs it be very rarely, and for the manifeſtations of the ſupremacy of his empire and power: ſo that ordinarily things natu-

rally act according to the laws and rules implanted in natural cauſes; and things voluntary act according to the liberty of their own freedom, without alteration of the former, or violence to the latter; yet by theſe, and in theſe, he fulfils infallibly the counſel of his own will: he manageth and ordereth even the ſinful actions of free agents to moſt excellent ends, yet without infuſing any obliquity into the man's will, or contaminating the purity and holineſs of his own. This knowledge is too wonderful for us.

Touching the counſel and decree of Almighty God, ſomething hath been ſaid in the part going before, touching Providence; I ſhall therefore here ſay but little concerning it.

The counſel, or decree of the will of God, is that act, as I may call it, of the Divine will, whereby, by one inviſible act, he did from eternity infallibly pre-determine all the events that ſhould after come to paſs.

And according to the object or terming of this divine decree, we may diſtinguiſh it according to the ſeveral ſorts of external acts, which have been or ſhall be in the world, and thoſe are principally two, viz. the creation of the world, and the government or providential ordering of the world.

The decree or counſel for the creation of the world was that eternal purpoſe of the bleſſed Trinity, God bleſſed for ever; that in ſuch a period he would, by his Almighty power, create and perfect both the matter and frame of the whole world: and although the execution of this decree were a mutation in things, or a tranſition from not being to being, yet the will of Almighty God was eternally, immutably the ſame, whereby he determined to communicate the overflowing of his goodneſs, and to create beings, that, according to their ſeveral capacities, ſhould be receptive of that goodneſs of his.

The decree of his providence is that eternal counſel of his, whereby he did determine to ſupport and govern the

the things that he had ſo determined to make, according to the moſt wiſe, moſt pure, unerring counſel of his own will.

And the execution of this counſel, or the manner of the divine regiment, or providential gubernation of things, may be reduced to theſe four kinds:

1. Supernatural, whereby the divine power, for the manifeſting of his abſolute ſovereignty, and upon moſt wiſe and ſuitable emergencies, doth interpoſe his own immediate power for the bringing about ſome counſels; and thoſe are of two kinds, according to the variety of objects which it concerns; viz.

1. Miraculous interpoſitions, which principally concern natural agents, or effects; as the ſtanding ſtill of the ſun, &c.

2. Illapſes and irradiations, and infuſions of the operations of the Divine Spirit, as in the Prophets, or in converting of men to the knowledge and obedience of the truth: and this concerns rational creatures as ſuch.

2. Natural, whereby he orders all things ordinarily in the world, according to the laws and conſtitutions that he hath given naturally to ſecond cauſes, whereby, according to their ſuitable conſtitution, the regiment of things is managed, but under the moſt wiſe government, and to moſt wiſe ends. And under this word, natural, I likewiſe include even voluntary or free agents, which though in ſome reſpect they are contradiſtinguiſhed to natural agents, yet, in this reſpect, I call them natural, becauſe their liberty and freedom is natural to them: and ſurely upon a due conſideration, the moſt incomparable wiſdom and power of Almighty God is no leſs conſpicuous in this natural regiment of things, than in that ſupernatural interpoſition above-mentioned, viz. that the Divine Wiſdom hath ſo fitted every thing with a law ſuitable to the exigence and convenience of its own being, and yet ſo ordered and fitted for contexture to the common uſe and regiment of things, that they are ſuitable

and natural to our conſtitutions, without violation of them.

3. Permiſſive, which refers to the ſinful actions of free agents, viz. whereby God Almighty having at firſt conſtituted a being in freedom of will, and with ſufficient power and knowledge to elect good, and to refuſe the evil; he decrees to permit him to uſe the freedom of his own will, and in that freedom he falls and ſins. This permiſſive decree doth not at all neceſſitate the choice that it makes, though the infiniteneſs of the divine knowledge foreſees what choice he will make, and provides accordingly by that which enſues; viz.

4. Directive providence; that although Almighty God doth not by any pre-determination, counſel his creature to ſin, yet by the infinite proſpect of his knowledge, foreſeeing that he will ſin, the divine counſel moſt wiſely, holily, and mercifully manageth and directeth even this ſinful action of men, or other free agent, to the beſt good that it is capable of. That a free agent ſhould be made, and yet of a peaceable and mutual nature, it was no error of Divine Providence: for indeed, as naturally every created being is mutable, ſo it is nothing of imperfection for a free agent to be *liber ad oppoſita* [1]: the electing of what is evil, by ſuch a free agent, indeed, is a thing permitted by God, but is the act or obliquity of the agent that might have done otherwiſe; but the direction and conduct of that action to a moſt excellent end, is the effect of this moſt wiſe, moſt pure directive counſel of Almighty God.

But more ſhall be ſaid in relation hereunto, when we come to conſider of the Divine Providence, in relation to man; for the truth is, the external gubernation and providence is but *divinum decretum enucleatum*, 'the detection and diſcovery of that coun-'ſel and decree of God that was before ſecret and hid-'den.'

[1] at liberty to choose the contrary.

I come

I come to thoſe external acts of the Divine counſel, the adminiſtration of his kingdom, viz. Creation and Providence.

1. Creation is of two kinds, viz. *creatio prima*; which is the production of a being from not being.

2. *Creatio ſecunda*; the production of a being out of ſuch a being, and in ſuch a method or way as exceeds all created power.

For the former of theſe creations, viz. the production of ſomething out of ſimply nothing, which is the greateſt effect that is imaginable, becauſe the diſtance between the extremes, viz. ſimple not-being, and being in the infiniteſt diſtance that is imaginable, and therefore is a work peculiarly belonging to an omnipotent power.

This creation is of thoſe primordial rudiments of all other things, and therefore compriſeth theſe two things, viz. the production of ſpiritual or incorporeal natures; and theſe ſeem to be completed in the firſt creation, and had no other ſuperinduced formation or *creatio ſecunda* upon them, but they were completed in the completement and perfection of their being in the firſt inſtant of their creation: ſuch are angelical natures and ſeparate intelligences.

Secondly, the production of the rudiments of things corporeal, which ſeems to include two things.

1. The common maſs of matter; and,

2. The common ſpirit of material beings.

As the former is the *materia prima* of bodies, ſo the latter may poſſibly be the *materia prima*, as I may call it, of ſubſtantial forms; and theſe lay confuſedly mixed together, ſo that neither was the matter purely *informis*, for that were impoſſible to ſuppoſe ſuch a ſubſiſtence of matter, or corporeal *moles*, without any kind of form; nor is it, on the other ſide, imaginable, that the *ſpiritus univerſi*, as I may call it, was diſtinct, complete, or ſubſiſting without matter; but they were both mingled indiſtinctly together, till the particles of this common matter, and the particles of this common

ſpirit, or form, were called out in the *creatio ſecunda*, or the formation of things, and reduction of theſe indigeſted rudiments of the *mundus ſpectabilis* into their ſeveral ranks and orders.

Non bene unctarum diſcordia ſemina rerum[1].

And this way that chaos, the work of beginning, conſiſting of theſe two parts, mentioned in the firſt and ſecond verſes of the firſt of Geneſis, viz. the earth, or that *moles corporea*, which is called the abyſs, or deep; and that *ſpiritus* that moved, or agitated the waters, which, with ſubmiſſion, I conceive was not the pure eſſential Spirit of God, the third perſon in the ſacred Trinity; but a ſpirit created by the energy and virtue of that Spirit, and mingled with the maſs of matter.

In the precedent diſcourſes, the neceſſity of the hypotheſis of the creation of all things out of ſimply nothing, is, to my underſtanding, fully evinced, and there ſhall not need any repetition of it: and moſt certainly the firſt chapter of Geneſis, which doth admirably ſhew the ſteps and method of the whole creation, doth wonderfully gratify even the light of natural reaſon, diſcovering the particular method of that production of the world which the light of reaſon evinceth to have been at firſt produced; though it cannot, without divine revelation, diſcover the ſteps and method of it. And, on the other, the light of nature doth *ſuffragari*, and 'bear witneſs to the truth' of the Scriptures, which light of nature carries us to a recognition that it had an original; though, without the help of Revelation, it cannot diſcover the method or order of it.

The *creatio ſecunda* is that formation of things, viſible or corporeal out of thoſe rudiments of matter, and form, or ſpirit, which was prepared by the *creatio prima*; conſiſting principally in theſe things:

1. The ſegregation of certain parts of matter, and ſuitable parts of the *ſpiritus materiæ*.

[1] Diſcordant elements of incongruous materials.

2. The

2. The coagulation and coagmentation of thoſe ſeparated parts, according to the various natures of things.

3. The tranſpoſition and location of them in their moſt ſuitable places and ſtations.

4. The accommodating them with thoſe various accidents that were convenient and ſuitable to them, and to the univerſe.

5. The moulding and faſhioning of the various furniture of the ſeveral greater bodies, as by particles of matter and form, or ſpirit, aſſumed and fitted for their individual and ſpecifical natures.

6. The conſtitution of man, and deriving into him a reaſonable ſoul, of a higher and more noble allay than that *ſpiritus mundanus*, which was, as it were, the common ſpirit of the *mundus aſpectabilis*.

And in this whole proceſs, not only of the *creatio prima*, but of the *creatio ſecunda*, or the eduction of particular things out of that maſs of common proviſion, which was ſubminiſtred by the *creatio prima*, we muſt, of neceſſity, acknowledge theſe enſuing truths:

1. That they were not the productions of ſecond cauſes, but the immediate production of Almighty God, by his will and power; and we need go no farther for an evidence of it than this: if the temperature of the matter, the natural influx of the heavens, the energy of firſt qualities, were the cauſes of theſe productions, why, in all the experience that the world hath had theſe four thouſand years and more; why, in all this time, hath not any part of the world yielded a man, or ſo much as a horſe, or a ſheep, of ſuch a production, without the ordinary courſe of generation?

2. That yet it may be probable that the immediate inſtrument which the Divine Power uſed in the external formation of creatures, may be the formation of that ſubſtantial form, or ſpirit, and uniting it to matter, ſo that the formation of the external ſhape of things might be the ideal impreſſion of that form upon

the prepared matter. This poſſibly may be, becauſe we ſee the formation of the externals of bodies is ſtill immediately effected by the ſeminal ideal energy of the ſubſtantial form. But poſſibly it might be otherwiſe, for poſſibly the firſt conſtitution of things might be of another nature than what now appears.

3. That as they were the immediate production of the Divine Power, ſo it was a production not *ex neceſſitate naturæ*, but *ex intentione intendentis.*

4. That as it was the production of Almighty God, not as a neceſſary, but as a free agent, ſo it was a production of infinite wiſdom, and admirable contrivance. This is the ſubject of ſome of the precedent tracts.

OF

DOING AS WE WOULD BE DONE UNTO.

OF

DOING AS WE WOULD BE DONE UNTO.

MATTHEW vii. 12.

THEREFORE ALL THINGS WHATSOEVER YE WOULD THAT MEN SHOULD DO TO YOU, DO YE EVEN SO TO THEM; FOR THIS IS THE LAW AND THE PROPHETS.

LUKE vi. 31.

AND AS YE WOULD THAT MEN SHOULD DO TO YOU, DO YE ALSO TO THEM LIKEWISE.

ALMIGHTY God, in his giving out the moral law unto the Jews (which is, indeed, little elſe than a repetition, or recapitulation, of the law of nature), included, or inſcribed, it in two tables; the firſt importing the natural duties that a man owes to God; the ſecond importing the duties a man owes to man, or (which is all one) to his neighbour.

Our Redeemer made a ſhorter abſtract of both theſe tables[1], yet taken out of the ancient writings of the law: 'The firſt and great commandment,' or the abſtract of the firſt table, 'Thou ſhalt love the Lord thy 'God with all thy heart, and with all thy ſoul, and 'with all thy mind;' which is the ſame in ſubſtance with that of Deut. vi. 5. The ſecond commandment, or the abſtract of the ſecond table, 'Thou ſhalt love 'thy neighbour as thyſelf,' being the ſame with that of Lev. xix. 18. 'On theſe two commandments hang all the 'law and the prophets;' that is, the ſeveral precepts, prohibitions, and counſels contained in the law and

[1] Matth. xxii. 37, &c.

the

the prophets, are, as it were, ſo many commentaries, or explications, of theſe two great commandments.

And the apoſtle, Rom. xiii. 9, 10. having occaſion to commend this great habit of love, which he elſewhere, viz. 1 Cor. xiii. calls by the name of Charity, follows his Maſter's doctrine, and reſolves the whole duty of the ſecond table into the ſame great command, 'Thou ſhalt love thy neighbour as thyſelf.'

In this text of Matth. vii. 12. and Luke vi. 31. our Lord gives us an explication of this ſecond great commandment, of loving our neighbour as ourſelf, in a brief, but more clear propoſition or precept.

And the excellency of this precept conſiſts in theſe particulars, among many others:

1. It is compendious and ſhort: the volumes of morality that have been written, both by Chriſtian and heathen philoſophers, though they contain many excellent precepts, yet they are very large, and ſuch as every man hath not opportunity to read; and thoſe that have read them, or ſome of them, cannot eaſily remember the many particulars contained in them. Our Lord, therefore, hath given us this brief and compendious precept, which is eaſy and familiar to be remembred.

2. Though it be a compendious precept, yet it is a comprehenſive precept, and ſuch as contains the whole duty of man in relation to others.

There was well known, not only among the Jews, but among the heathens, the prohibitory part of this precept; namely. *quod tibi fieri non vis alteri ne feceris*[1]. We find it among the ancient Jews, Tobit iv. 15. and among the ancient heathens; inſomuch, that one of the Roman emperors cauſed it to be written in letters of gold, as his choice motto, in ſeveral parts of his palace.

And, indeed, that negative precept contains very much of moral righteouſneſs, becauſe it extends to the prohibition of all acts of injuſtice or unrighteouſneſs; but this precept of the Goſpel doth not only

[1] What you would not have done to thyſelf, do not to another.

virtually

virtually prohibit all acts of injuſtice and unrighteouſneſs, but it doth expreſsly command and enjoin all acts of charity, goodneſs, and beneficence; and conſequently is a precept not only of moral juſtice, but of evangelical perfection, far beyond whatever the choiceſt heathen moraliſt ever required, or ſo much as thought of, as ſhall be in due time ſhewn. And yet, farther, it doth not only comprehend all the ſubjects or matter of moral juſtice and Chriſtian charity, which is a large and comprehenſive ſubject, but it directs, likewiſe, the manner of it—Do ye even ſo to them, with the ſame ſincerity, and integrity, and ſimplicity, and affection of heart, as you would have it done to you.

3. As it is a compendious and comprehenſive, ſo it is a plain and perſpicuous, and ſelf-evident rule; it ſends not a man to conſult with this or that philoſopher, ſchoolman, or caſuiſt, to be reſolved touching the thing to be forborne or done, but ſends a man to himſelf, and to that in himſelf which is moſt evident to himſelf; namely, what he would wiſh to be done to himſelf in the like condition; which, if a man will be but as honeſt to himſelf as he may, he can eaſily determine and judge. So that of this precept I may ſay, as Moſes doth elſewhere concerning the law: 'Behold! this commandment which I command thee 'this day, is not hidden from thee, neither is it afar 'off. It is not in heaven, &c. neither is it beyond 'the ſea, &c. But the word is very nigh unto thee, 'in thy mouth, and in thy heart, that thou mayeſt 'do it[1].'

4. It is ſuch a rule as in particular, and particularly directive, as to the action in queſtion, under all its circumſtances. It is true, that the general precepts of doing that which is good and juſt are very true, ſound, natural precepts, and common notions that are implanted in our nature, and allowed by all; but yet they ſerve not as ſufficient directions to particular ac-

[1] Deut. xxx. 11.

tions;

tions; and the reaſon is excellently given by the moraliſt, becauſe ſtill the difficulty remains in a juſt and true application or accommodation of theſe common notions to particular actions. And this is that that makes perpetual controverſies between one man and another, though both parties agree in the common notions, that what is juſt and honeſt ought to be done; but this precept gives a direction particularly accommodated to every action of a man's life, becauſe it is ſtill an eaſy and ready appeal: Would I have that man do that to me, which I am about to do to him?

5. It is a rule full of conviction. When another man gives his judgment concerning my action, I am rarely ſatisfied with his judgment, becauſe it differs from that judgment which perchance I make; but, when the judgment is my own, I muſt needs be convinced of what I judge. And, therefore, when Nathan came to David, and put him a caſe in a third perſon, which exactly ſquared with the caſe of David, in relation to Uriah and his wife, and David paſſed his judgment therein; and it after appeared that it was his own caſe; there was nothing more to be ſaid, he is convinced by his own judgment that he hath paſſed: ſo when a man turns the tables, as the proverb is, and makes another man's caſe his, his judgment muſt needs be full of demonſtrative, and unqueſtionable, and cogent conviction, and conſequently muſt needs have a ſtrange, forcible, and almoſt irreſiſtible direction, in relation to the doing, or not doing, of the action propounded.

6. It is a rule that carries with it a ſtrange and forcible reaſonableneſs, congruity, and juſtice, if a man gave himſelf but ſo much leave and patience to ſcan, and conſider, and examine it.

1. It is a moſt reaſonable and evidently juſt rule; for with what imaginable juſtice can I do that to him, that I judge unfit or unjuſt for him to do to me; or with what pretence of juſtice, or congruity, can I judge that

and the moral precepts, that either by their ſelf-evidence, *primo intuitu*, to the intellectual faculty, or by their connatural implantation and inciſion into the ſoul, are thus diſcovered, without the manuduction of a diſcurſive proceſs, or train of ratiocination, are juſtly called laws of nature.

And ſuch is this precept we have in hand, which, without any antecedent inſtruction, or ratiocination, is allowed, and approved, and embraced, *primo intuitu*; either becauſe it is a moral and rational inſtinct connaturally implanted in the ſoul, as one of its inſcriptions or ſignatures; or, at leaſt, becauſe it holds ſuch a clear, evident, plain congruity with our intellective faculty, that at the firſt conception of it, without more work, it aſſents to it as fit, and juſt, and good, without any antecedent, either inſtruction, or argumentation, or deduction; as it doth, at the firſt view, conclude that two is more than one, without the expectation of a demonſtration thereof.

And hence it is, that all that have written of laws of nature, although perchance they differ in their ſeveral ſuppoſitions touching ſuch laws, and the reaſon of them, yet have generally vouched this great precept, *quod fieri tibi non vis alteri ne feceris*, among the unqueſtionable laws of nature.

They that ſuppoſe the laws of the rational nature to be therefore ſuch, becauſe they are inſcribed, as it were, and congenite with, and in the *synteresis*, or ſeat of principles in the ſoul, ſuppoſe this moral rule of juſtice and charity likewiſe inſcribed connaturally in the natural conſcience; and they that ſuppoſe the ſoul to be *rasa tabula*, and to have no ſuch moral or other truths inſcribed in it, nor to have any connatural propoſition thereunto analogical to the inſtincts of inferior animals, but only an accommodation of the intellectual faculties to the external objects; yet ſuppoſe this to be a natural principle of moral juſtice and righteouſneſs, becauſe it carries a plain and ready evidence in itſelf, and a certain eaſy congruity to our faculties,

faculties, whereby, at the firſt view, without any neceſſity of ratiocination, or deduction in a diſcurſive proceſs, the underſtanding, *primo intuitu*, and 'at the firſt propoſal' thereof aſſents to it as true and good. And, again, they that will not allow of laws of nature upon either of the two former accounts, but only will have ſuch to be laws of nature which, upon an account of reaſon, appears to be immediately, or conſequentially conducible to ſelf-preſervation; yet allow this to be a law of nature, even upon that account, as highly conducible to the ſafety, good, and benefit of every man; becauſe he that doth to another what he would have another do to him, ſecretly inclines another to do the like by him.

8. It is a rule commenſurate to the whole reaſonable nature; every perſon that hath but the common uſe of reaſon, may exerciſe it without any difficulty. Every reaſonable man hath a reaſonable will; and every reaſonable man may know what it is he wills, and what it is he would or would not another ſhould do to him: for the will is a rational power in man; and, indeed, it is the complement of the rational procedure in the ſoul, and that which doth, or ſhould, immediately follow the laſt act of the underſtanding; willing it the full complete ripe fruit of the rational ſoul in things to be done. And therefore this, whatſoever ye would, ſuppoſeth an antecedent conſideration of theſe things:

1. A conſideration of his own ſtate and condition, that is about to do, or not to do, the thing under deliberation.

2. A conſideration of the perſon to whom the thing under deliberation is to be done.

3. A conſideration of the thing itſelf that is under deliberation.

4. A conſideration of the ſeveral circumſtances, congruities, and incongruities, that accompany the thing under deliberation.

5. A due tranſpoſing of the perſons by way of fiction or ſuppoſition; namely, he that is under propoſal of being the agent, putting himſelf into the condition of the patient, and putting the patient in the place of the agent; and then making the deciſion upon it fairly and impartially.

And although that one man's reaſon, and learning, and judgment, may be much greater and clearer than another's, and there may be very many curious inquiſitions and deſcants upon every action that comes under this kind of deliberation, which every man cannot attain unto, nor poſſibly reach, yet here is the excellency of this rule, that he needs no other reaſon, no other ſcrutiny, no other help but his own, to make this deciſion, if he will be but what every one may be, if he pleaſe, true and faithful, and honeſt to himſelf, he needs no other caſuiſt, no other umpire but himſelf, though he have but an ordinary capacity, and a common uſe of his reaſon and underſtanding.

9. This rule is a rule that, if followed, takes off all that, that for the moſt part makes a man partial and unequal, in determining touching his own actions. The great reaſon of inequality in the actions of men is ſelf-love, that makes a man partial to himſelf and all his own actions; that warps a man from that equality and juſtice that ſhould direct him. When I find that this or that action would be beneficial to me, I preſently am carried away by ſelf-love, either to do it without any farther examination, or, if I give myſelf leave to conſider the lawfulneſs of it, ſelf-love and intereſt blinds my judgment, and preſently perſuades me that it is lawful, becauſe profitable to me; or, if I allow myſelf any farther diſpute touching it, yet ſelf-love will deceive me, and make thoſe arguments ſeem ſtrongeſt that make for my intereſt: and ſo, on the contrary, if I am under conſideration of ſome action that is to my loſs, ſelf-love will uſe the like ſophiſtry upon my judgment, and bring me off from it; but this rule, if followed,

followed, diſchargeth me of that partiality that I have to myſelf, or doth infallibly, even to my ſenſe, detect it and take it off. For when I put myſelf in the ſtead and perſon of that other perſon to whom the action is to be done, and find, that under that capacity and ſuppoſition, I would not have that action done to me which I am about to do to another, or would have that action denied to me, that I am about to deny to another, the action appears to me truly as it is, and as it is ſtript of that diſguiſe that ſelf-love would put upon it, and removes that partiality that otherwiſe ſelf-love would incline me to, and gives me a true repreſentation of the action, whereby I cannot err through ſelf-love, without apparent perverſeneſs, and wilful reſolved injuſtice, which cannot be preſumed in a reaſonable man.

And theſe be thoſe general obſervations, touching the excellence and uſefulneſs of this excellent precept of moral righteouſneſs.

I ſhall now proceed to conſider the parts and extent of this precept. The heads whereof are as follow:

I. The object, touching which this precept is given; it is moral actions between man and man, together with the extent of the object, 'Whatſoever ye would, 'or whatſoever ye would not.'

II. The ſubject, with its extent; namely, man; 'Whatſoever ye would that men ſhould do to you, 'that do ye to them.' Men indefinitely, and therefore men univerſally.

III. The rule directing thoſe actions, no other but the will of him that is to do the action under a change or tranſpoſition of his perſon; 'Whatſoever ye would 'that men ſhould do to you, that do ye to them.'

IV. The extent of the rule, under a threefold relation:

1. To the thing to be done.

2. To the manner of doing, 'Do ye even ſo to 'them likewiſe.'

3. To the application of the rule, which is,

(1.) Preceptive, which it expreſſes, 'Whatſoever 'ye would that men ſhould do to you.'

(2.) Prohibitive, implies, 'What ye would not 'that men ſhould do to you, that do ye not to them.'

I begin with the object of this rule, which are the moral actions between men; and therefore it will not be amiſs to give ſome account touching them. Moral actions of mankind are diſtinguiſhed either in reſpect of the object to which they relate, or in reſpect of the ſubject wherein they are, or in reſpect of the nature and quality of the actions themſelves.

I. In reſpect of the object to which they relate; and they are theſe:

1. Either ſuch as relate to Almighty God, which come under the denomination of piety, or impiety, according to the nature of the actions; or,

2. Such as relate to men; ſuch are juſtice, righteouſneſs, &c. or injuſtice, unrighteouſneſs, &c. Righteouſneſs being a larger and more comprehenſive word than juſtice.

II. In relation to the ſubject: ſo moral acts may be diſtinguiſhed into ſuch as are internal; as love to God, fear of God, reverence to him, dependance upon him, with relation to God; love to man, compaſſion to him, an internal active habit of righteouſneſs, goodneſs, juſtice, with relation to man: or external, that flow immediately from the outward man, though from an inward principle, as adoration, external obedience unto the commands of God, in relation to him; acts of juſtice, righteouſneſs, charity, in relation to men.

III. In relation to the nature and quality of the action, whether towards God or man, intellectual or external: ſome actions are morally good, as piety, obedience to God, love, righteouſneſs, charity to man. Some are morally evil, as impiety, diſobedience to God, malice, hatred, envy, cruelty, injuſtice towards men.

The moral goodneſs of every act or action of mankind, whether internal or external, relating to God or man,

man, conſiſts in the conformity thereof to the will and command of God, which is the primitive rule of all moral goodneſs: and the moral evil of any act or action is the deformity, deviation, or contrariety thereof to the will or law of God.

Our Lord, when he gave an abſtract of the will and love of God, diſtributed it into thoſe two great commandments, 'Love to God, with all the heart, and 'with all the ſoul: and love to man as to ourſelves.' The firſt of theſe is indeed the great command, that as it is the root of our love to man, ſo it ought to be the greateſt principle to move it, and the primitive rule to qualify and direct it: but in the command in hand, the latter, namely, the command touching our love to our neighbour, or to mankind, and the offices thereof, is the ſubject in hand: therefore it is our buſineſs to enquire, what is that love of God that concerns our acts or actions to mankind, whereby they are denominated good, if conſonant to that law, or morally evil, if contrary to it.

The law of God, touching moral goodneſs, relating to man, is of two kinds.

1. That which reſpecteth the inward man, or that habit, or thoſe acts of moral goodneſs that originally reſide in the mind, the principal whereof commanded, is love; and that train of excellent habits that follow it, as righteouſneſs, beneficence, charitableneſs, meekneſs, patience, gentleneſs, which are required by the command of God, and in this rule preſcribed under the words *ſo* and *likewiſe*. And, on the other ſide, the habits or vices forbidden by the law of God, are hatred, malice, envy, revengefulneſs, cruelty, unmercifulneſs, and all that black train of the diſeaſes of the mind.

2. That which reſpecteth the actions of the outward man, may be reduced under theſe two general heads; namely, righteouſneſs and charity.

Righteouſneſs between man and man conſiſts in theſe two generals;

1. In doing no injury.
2. In giving to every man his due.

The former part of righteouſneſs conſiſts in doing no wrong: and regularly all ſorts of injuries are reductive to the five laſt commandments of the ſecond table; though even under thoſe prohibitions there is commanded virtually the contrary of what is in them forbidden. By theſe prohibitory laws of God, all injuries to the perſon of any man, all violence, rapine, deceit, cozenage, fraud, all falſe accuſation, lying, falſe defamation, or teſtimony, are prohibited; and in theſe prohibitory laws the negative part of this rule is moſt concerned, *quod tibi fieri non vis alteri ne feceris.*

The former, namely, the poſitive part of righteouſneſs, *suum cuique tribuere* [1], hath a double reſpect.

1. Either to mankind in general, or,
2. To mankind under ſome relation.

1. To mankind in general: and herein the great root, or foundation of righteouſneſs between man and man, is that great, divine and natural precept *fidem serva*[2], or *fides est servanda*; for the truth is, all moral precepts of righteouſneſs are reducible to this one: and there are two kinds of *fides data*, either that which is given expreſſively, or that which is given impliedly, or interpretatively: the former reſpects, eſpecially contracts and bargains, and pacts; though even in theſe there is alſo an implied faith; as if I ſell goods to another, it is implied, that if I know them not to be my own, I am bound to make reſtitution, for I ſell not *bona fide* but *mala fide.*

The ſecond ſort of *fides*, is that which is implied, and by common interpretation ſo eſteemed. Thus, as a man is a part of the common ſociety of mankind, he doth by way of interpretation undertake to obſerve thoſe common laws that are introduced by the law of nations: ſo if a man doth become a member of any civil ſociety, he tacitly obligeth himſelf to the obſervation of the laws and cuſtoms of that ſociety; and

[1] to give every man his due. [2] obſerve good faith.

hither

hither alſo reductively all the mutual offices (whereof in the next ſection) may be brought, as to the primary law or obligation.

Now this part of righteouſneſs that intervenes between man and man, generally is, *suum cuique tribuere:* this therefore ſuppoſeth a right or propriety ſettled in that perſon to whom it is given; and this right of propriety may be lodged in another, by ſome of theſe ways.

1. By the divine poſitive law. Thus under the ſtate of the Jews, a right of propriety was lodged in the prieſts, for their parts of the burnt-offerings; and in the Levites for their tythes; and he that withheld them was an unrighteous man, he did not *suum tribuere.*

2. *Jure naturæ*; as I have intereſt by the law of nature in my own breaſt, and family and children.

3. By the *jus gentium*; where it is not corrected by a municipal law. Thus the *primus inventor*, or poſſeſſor of things, whereof no particular intereſt was lodged in another, acquires a property, and he that detains it from him is unrighteous: thus Reuben hath a right to the mandrakes which he found againſt Rachel, and they were not to be taken from him but by his own conſent, or the conſent of his parents, who by the uſe then obtaining, had the power over them.

4. By the municipal laws or cuſtoms of that kingdom, or city, wherein a man lives: for, as hath been ſaid, every man that enters into any ſociety, tacitly and interpretatively, obligeth himſelf to obſerve the laws and cuſtoms thereof, and particularly ſuch as direct the manner of acquiring and transferring property.

5. By a man's own particular agreement: and this may be with relation either to words or things.

6. In relation to words or ſigns. When one man, either by words or ſigns, imparts any thing to another, that other man hath an intereſt therein; namely,

that the man relates or imparts what is true; and therefore he that knowingly, and with an intention to deceive, tells another a lie, he doth not *suum tribuere*; namely, that truth that the words or ſigns import; and this part of juſtice between man and man is called veracity.

2. In relation to things. I may transfer a right or property to another, ſeveral ways; for under this head come all the ſeveral parts or reſpects of commutative juſtice: I ſhall reduce them ſhortly to thoſe two heads.

1. Tranſlation of properties, by way of contract, whereby that which is mine, becomes another's in point of propriety, as by ſale, location, &c. It is a part of this moral righteouſneſs, that I detain it not from him to whom I have ſold it.

2. Tranſlation of intereſt, by way of ſtipulation, or agreement; which, though it do not always alter the property, yet it gives another an intereſt in my performance thereof; ſuch are the reſtitution of what is borrowed, delivery of the pledge upon payment, payment of money, or delivery of goods according to promiſe. And thus far concerning that common righteouſneſs which is between man and man.

2. The ſecond kind of righteouſneſs relates to others, as they ſtand in a different relation: theſe are thoſe which I have before called moral offices, or *officia moralis juſtitiæ*; whereas, though between theſe various relations there are reciprocations of mutual offices, yet therefore reciprocation is not in the ſame kind or nature. And theſe relations are eſpecially two, œconomical, and political.

Firſt, the relations œconomical conſiſt in three kinds of relations.

1. Father and children: wherein, though there be ſome offices that are ſimply reciprocal, as love, and mutual ſupport; yet there are ſome that are ſpecifical to ſuch relation, as authoritative direction, command, and correction

correction to the father; ſubjection and obedience to the children.

2. Huſband and wife; wherein there be alſo ſome duty ſimply reciprocal, as love, and fidelity; ſo there are ſome that are appropriate, as protection and maintenance to the huſband, reverence to the wife.

3. Maſter and ſervant; wherein alſo there are duties ſpecifically appropriate; as payment of wages, convenient ſupplies, &c. to the maſter; diligence, fidelity, and obedience to the ſervant.

Secondly, the relations political; and principally, prince or magiſtrate, and people; wherein,

1. The offices of the prince, or magiſtrate, are,

(1.) Protection.

(2.) Government according to law.

(3.) Adminiſtration of juſtice; retributive, to be done juſtly, ſpeedily, with equality and due moderation: diſtributive, in diſtribution of public offices, &c. to be done prudently, and according to deſert and fitneſs.

2. The officers of the people, relative to prince or magiſtrate; ſubjection, obedience, reverence, ſupport. Theſe are various and divers, according to the ſeveral conſtitutions of kingdoms, ſtates, and cities, wherein their ſeveral municipal laws direct the quality or nature of the ſeveral offices of prince and people, with relation to each other.

And thus far touching righteouſneſs, according to a regular and ſtrict ſenſe.

2. The next part of the Divine law is the law of Charity, or rather love, *philanthropy*, which comes equal under the command of the law, as that of righteouſneſs or juſtice; and indeed it is but a ſpecies of righteouſneſs in its large and comprehenſive ſenſe; yet, with this difference, the rules of righteouſneſs are more defined and determinate: but the rules of charity, in relation to the exerciſe of the particular acts thereof, are, in many things, more left to the

dictamen

dictamen bonæ conscientiæ [1], under the ſeveral circumſtances of time, place, perſon, manner, degree, &c. wherein, nevertheleſs, this rule of our Saviour will be a ſingular directive upon all occaſions, as ſhall be hereafter ſhown.

Now the parts of this charity, or *philanthropy*, ſeem to be theſe:

1. Beneficence; under which we reduce liberality, hoſpitality, *eleemosynæ*, or 'almſgiving,' the contrary whereof are, narrow-heartedneſs, covetouſneſs.

2. Clemency; under which we may reduce, firſt, a mitigation, or remiſſion of the extremity of part of our right, when it may be with a benefit to others, and without an enormous detriment to ourſelves. Secondly, the uſing of equity, or moderation for the good of others within the extremity of legal right. Thirdly, moderation. Fourthly, longanimity, or patient bearing of injuries. Fifthly, forgiveneſs of injuries to a perſon that ſeeks it: the contrary whereof are, a rigorous exaction of our own rights to the extremity, taking the utmoſt advantage of the ſeverity of laws, or implacableneſs, vindictiveneſs, fierceneſs.

3. Inoffenſiveneſs; denying ourſelves in what we may lawfully do, or require, rather than giving an offence by our uſe of a lawful liberty.

4. Condeſcenſion to the weakneſſes and infirmities of others.

5. Compaſſion and ſympathy with thoſe in miſery.

6. Humility and lowlineſs of deportment to others, giving them preference; the contrary whereof is, pride, haughtineſs, arrogance, ſelf-attribution, and deſpiſing of others, ambition, vain-glory.

7. A general frame of humanity and benignity to all mankind, whether relations or ſtrangers, friends or enemies, endeavouring all good offices to their ſouls, bodies, eſtates, yet obſerving that due proportion that becomes prudence. The contrary whereof is

[1] the dictates of conſcience.

ſelfiſhneſs,

ſelfiſhneſs, making a man's ſelf the ſingle centre and end of all he doth.

8. Gratitude; acknowledging benefits received, and looking upon himſelf as under an obligation ſo to do; and ſtudying all due and decent means and opportunities of expreſſing it.

9. Decorum, or decency, in all our actions, that we may avoid all poſſible offences given, and uſing this decorum in our geſtures, applications, ſpeeches, habit, addreſſes, receptions, and generally in all we do.

10. Simplicity and ſincerity in all our actions and works; the contrary whereof is diſſimulation, hypocriſy, deceit, circumvention, craftineſs, guile, which are as much againſt the law of charity, as cruelty or revenge.

11. Meekneſs and gentleneſs; the oppoſite whereunto is roughneſs, ſtubbornneſs, frowardneſs, moroſity, cenſoriouſneſs, ſuperciliouſneſs.

12. A fair and good opinion of others, and a fair interpretation of their actions, without very juſt cauſe to the contrary: the oppoſite whereof are evil ſurmiſings, calumnies, backbiting, readineſs to receive or believe falſe reports, cauſeleſs ſuſpicions.

13. Rejoicing in the good and welfare of others, whether friends or enemies. The contrary whereof is envy, rejoicing in other men's harms, rejoicing when an enemy falls into miſchief, an evil eye at others good.

14. An entire love to peace, and endeavouring, by all due means and opportunity, to preſerve, and to reſtore it, both in relation to himſelf and others; and therefore is not eaſily provoked, and is eaſily pacified, moderates his paſſions, keeps them under diſcipline, ſeeks reconcilation.

Theſe are ſome of thoſe many parts of charity, or love, or *philanthropy*, that virtue, that ſo much commends the Chriſtian Religion above all other religions in the world, in relation to the moral actions between man and man; it is a large and comprehenſive

ſive duty, and ſuch as hath an influence into all the moral actions of our lives, and therefore it is hardly poſſible to enumerate all the parts of it. But this may ſerve for our direction in the application of this rule of our Saviour.

Thus we have the ſubject matter of this rule, the *whatsoever*, including all the moral actions between man and man, whether actions that relate to righteouſneſs, or juſtice, or the actions that relate to charity.

And this rule of our Saviour is very uſeful in relation to both; but eſpecially to thoſe actions that concern charity; for the works of moral juſtice, or injuſtice, are more determinate, not only by the Divine laws of God, but in a great meaſure by the very laws of men alſo, in every particular kingdom or ſtate, which commands ſome things, and prohibits others, in things relating to moral juſtice or injuſtice; and eſtabliſheth certain tribunals, or courts, that by civil coercion, compel the obſervance of thoſe rules of moral righteouſneſs injoined by laws, and puniſh the violation thereof: and therefore the laws of men in ſuch caſes, do not only direct that moral juſtice that is to be between man and man, but compels the obſervance of it.

But the Divine law of charity is not ſo determinate and particular in its exerciſe, as the laws of righteouſneſs and juſtice are: if a man kill another, he knows he violates the ſixth commandment; he knows he offends the municipal law of the kingdom wherein he lives, and knows the penalty of it. But when a man denies an alms, or is ſtrait-handed, where he ſhould be free, it is more difficult for him to diſcern his duty, or the neglect of it, becauſe though charity be injoined by the Divine law, yet the ſeveral circumſtances, when and how, and how far forth it is to be exerciſed, are not ſo evident, but muſt neceſſarily therein be left to the prudence and integrity of a good conſcience.

Again,

Again: When I borrow money, the law of the land will compel me to pay it, and make me juſt, becauſe it is a part of that moral righteouſneſs that is injoined by human laws. But there are very many acts of charity, which, though injoined by the command of God, yet come not under any preciſe or determinate laws of men. The Divine law of charity binds me to be liberal, to give alms, to forgive offences, to be thankful for benefits, &c. but theſe come not under the conſideration of human law, and perchance it is not fit they ſhould, becauſe it is impoſſible for any human law to accommodate itſelf to the circumſtances of thoſe actions, neither can it preſcribe the time, manner, or meaſure of it; but it muſt neceſſarily be left in a great meaſure to the deciſion of the prudence and integrity of the conſciences of particular perſons; and therefore this rule of our Saviour is of the moſt excellent uſe, and indeed of neceſſity, for the direction of the conſcience, eſpecially in theſe caſes of the law of charity.

1. Becauſe though the law is general, yet the conſcience ſtands in need of direction, in relation to the particular action, and the application of that general law to this particular action.

2. Becauſe thoſe actions that ſimply relate to charity, do rarely come under the correction of a temporal law: for inſtance, the law of England tells me, that I muſt pay my rates to the poor: now it is no longer an act of charity ſimply, but of juſtice. But the laws of England do not compel me to give to this or that poor man that aſks, therein I am only obliged by the Divine law of charity; and my conſcience, circumſtances conſidered, is my great directrix in this action; and the rule of our Lord here preſcribed the great director of my conſcience. This rule therefore, though it be of admirable uſe in all actions of moral righteouſneſs between man and man; yet it is not only of admirable uſe, but even of neceſſity in relation to acts of charity.

II. Having

Again, 2. He can eaſily conſider his own condition, whether he would be much the worſe for relinquiſhing his ſatisfaction of this injury; whether he be not well enough able to bear it, and whether it would not procure him more contentedneſs of mind, if he did relinquiſh his ſatisfaction, that would more than countervail the benefit of revenge.

3. He could eaſily underſtand the condition of the wrong doer. Is he not very ſubmiſſive, deſires forgiveneſs, is ſorry for the wrong he hath done; and beſides all this, he is poor, and unable to make me ſatisfaction; and the wrong he did me was but by miſtake.

4. It is then a very eaſy matter for him to conſider; ſuppoſe I had committed the like injury to him, by miſtake, or over-ſight, and I were as poor as he, as unable to make ſatisfaction, as ſorrowful for the injury, as ſubmiſſively deſiring his pardon, and he as rich as I now am, and might remit the injury without any great detriment; certainly I may, with great eaſe, ſuppoſe this; and ſo change perſons and conditions with him by way of hypotheſis or ſuppoſition.

5. He might, with the ſame facility, know, upon ſuch a ſuppoſition, whether he would not, upon theſe terms, willingly have the injury forgiven him, and perchance would reaſonably think the other a very hard and uncharitable man if he would not do it.

6. Laſtly, if he will not groſsly prevaricate with himſelf, he can, upon this, conclude, that ſince I would have him to do thus to me, were my condition his, and his mine, I muſt now do the like to him, and forgive him the injury he thus did me, upon ſubmiſſion: I have given that judgment already againſt him, were he in my ſtead, and I in his; and therefore I muſt not, in common ingenuity, retract, unleſs I ſhall be perverſely unreaſonable againſt the very decree of my own judgment and will.

Thus this excellent rule of our Lord ſets up a tribunal within every man's own breaſt, which will infallibly

fallibly and impartially direct him; and his own will, and the determination thereof, is become his law and his judge. And if he will be but honeſt and true to himſelf, he cannot be miſguided; and certainly if a man will be honeſt and true to himſelf, he may be; and all that is neceſſary is but to know his own mind, or will, what he would in caſe the tables were turned, and he himſelf to be the patient, and the other the agent; and then reſolvedly to act according to ſuch a will or deſire, which he would entertain or think reaſonable under ſuch a tranſpoſition.

But there are ſome neceſſary cautions to be uſed in this ſuppoſed tranſpoſition of perſons, and the reſult of that judgment that is to be made thereupon.

1. Among men there be ſome that ſeem to ſtand in a mere parity, as the ſeveral members of one community or ſociety, whereby it comes to paſs, that the actions of ſuch men are, as it were, commenſurable, and fall under the ſame common congruity, or incongruity. What is unjuſt or unfit for Caius to do to Titus, is unfit for Titus to do to Caius: and in ſuch caſes, the practice of this rule is leſs difficult; for they ſtand upon the ſame parity of reaſon: if I would not have Titus cheat or deceive me, or take away my goods, or beat me, I have herein a plain rule not to do ſo to him.

But there are ſome perſons in a community that ſtand in a different relation each to other; whereby many actions that are compatible to one, are incompatible to another; a magiſtrate and people, maſter and ſervant, father and children: and in theſe actions that are ſpecifically appropriate to one relation, a meaſure is not to be taken by the actions appropriate to the other: it is not reaſonable for a father to ſay, I would not have my child correct me, and therefore I muſt not correct him: nor for a judge to ſay, I would not have the malefactor to condemn me to the priſon, therefore I muſt not condemn him: the actions are ſpecifically appropriate to a relation, and becauſe of the

difference of relation, there is not juſtly a reciprocation of the congruity between them, nor a commenſurableneſs between the actions of one and the other.

2. But even in the particularities of the actions, ſpecifically appropriate to relations, this rule doth hold with a due alteration of ſuppoſitions: for inſtance, it is an appropriate action to the relation of a father to correct his child, and there is no reciprocation in it: but in the particular action itſelf, the father may, and muſt go by this evangelical rule: I am about to correct my child; ſuppoſe I were a child, and having the ſame reaſon and judgment I have, would I have my father correct me with a fault, or without due examination, whither I committed ſuch a fault; or when the fault is ſo ſmall, that it deſerves only a reprehenſion, and not a correction? or would I have him correct me in his paſſion? or would not my ſubmiſſion and repentance expiate the neceſſity of a correction? or would I have it done in ſo ſevere a meaſure? Again, I am a judge, and therefore ſentence is my appropriate action, in caſe of a malefactor deduced into judgment before me: but were I deduced into judgment before a judge, would I be contented to be judged unheard, or without due examination of the fact? or would I be cenſured beyond the meaſure or nature of the offence? In theſe and the like caſes, the rule holds, *quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris:* and the reaſon is, becauſe, though the father hath a ſpecifical power of correcting, which is not reciprocal from the child to him; and the judge hath a power of inflicting puniſhment upon a malefactor, without reciprocation of the like power of the malefactor upon him; yet in the before-mentioned exceſſes, he exceeds the power committed to him; and indeed therein acts variouſly as a private man, and therefore is under the prohibition of *quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris.*

3. And upon the ſame reaſon it is, that although there be a diſparity of relations, which have their ſeveral

veral ſpecifical appropriate actions, without a parity of reciprocation, yet in ſuch actions as do intervene between ſuch relations that are not ſpecifically appropriate to the terms of relation, this rule holds, as well as between perſons not ſo related one to another: for inſtance, the ſpecifical actions appropriate to a maſter, father, or magiſtrate, are without a true command in things lawful, correction and punition, if there be juſt occaſion. And the ſpecifical appropriate actions of the ſervant, child, or ſubject, are ſubjection, reverence, and obedience: yet the actions of contract and commerce are not appropriate to thoſe relations, but concern them as perſons not under any ſuch relation: and therefore the ſame rules of commutative juſtice in contracts and commerce, hold between them as between other common perſons, and conſequently the natural rule in hand is equally applicable to both, notwithſtanding the difference of relations; the maſter, parent, or magiſtrate, may not deceive or circumvent the ſervant, child, or ſubject, in buying or ſelling, nor *e converso*; and therefore if I would not have my maſter or ſervant, father or child, governor or ſubject, deceive me in buying and ſelling, or break his word with me, or injuriouſly take away my goods or land, I muſt not do the like to them, for theſe are common actions of commutative, or private juſtice, or righteouſneſs, that concern not a man under thoſe diſparities of relation.

4. The conſcience, will, or judgment, which is here preſcribed as the rule, muſt be the will, conſcience, and judgment of him that is to take the meaſure of his actions thereby: and therefore, though in caſes of different relations, there is a neceſſity of tranſpoſition of perſons in the application of this rule, ſo that he that is about to do an action, for the due regulation of that action, and the application of this rule, muſt oftentimes *induere personam alterius* [1], yet the judgment and will, by which he muſt proceed, muſt be his own: for otherwiſe this rule would be without

[1] place himself in the situation of another.

any poſſible certainty, and would oftentimes occaſion great abſurdity in action. The excellence of this rule conſiſts in this, that a man hath a judge, or director of his own, and within himſelf, whereby to meaſure, direct, and regulate his actions, and is not neceſſitated to go farther.

And the reaſons hereof are theſe:

1. Becauſe otherwiſe this rule would want much of that perfection which it hath. If a man upon every moral action which he is to exerciſe, ſhould be driven to conſult the judgment of another, he would be to ſeek many times for a director, when the eminence, or preſent exigence of the action will not bear ſo much delay. It is true, every wiſe and good man will, as much as he can, endeavour, by reading, and advice with others, to certify and ſettle his own judgment and conſcience, but when he hath ſo done, the judgment is ſtill his own; and though perchance he hath, by theſe means, altered his own judgment from what it was, yet this altered judgment is now become as much his own as that he had before was his. I do not diſſuade any man from uſing the help of other men's advice, direction, and knowledge, to rectify his own judgment, either in the general habit thereof, or in relation to particular actions, for this is prudent and neceſſary for every good and juſt man. But all that I contend for, is, that ſtill the judgment muſt, of neceſſity, be the man's own that muſt guide him in voluntary moral actions of his own.

But, 2. In relation to the rule in hand, it muſt neceſſarily be a man's own judgment that muſt be his guide. It is poſſible for another man, well converſant in morals, to know better than myſelf in the theory or notion whether this or that action be fit or juſt, or exactly commenſurate to the rules of moral juſtice and righteouſneſs; but it is impoſſible for any man in the world to know ſo well as myſelf, whether I would have another to do that to me, which I am about to do to him: this judgment or conception, namely, the

the knowledge of what I would that another ſhould do to me, lies only in my own breaſt.

Again, 3. The determination of a man's will, touching ſuch actions as he would have another do, or not to do to him, is very much diverſified and varied, according to variety of circumſtances of time, place, perſon, and other junctures that accompany the action, touching which the deliberation and reſolution is exerciſed. And theſe circumſtances muſt neceſſarily have a great influence upon the reſult of my will, touching particular actions, which I would, or would not that another ſhould do to me; and conſequently my meaſure of ſuch actions, which I am about to do, or not to do to him, muſt thereby be greatly diverſified; and the nature, quality, and efficacy of theſe circumſtances are not poſſibly ſo clear and evident to another, as they are to myſelf; and conſequently another cannot ſo clearly determine, whether he would that another ſhould or ſhould not do the action to him, were he in my place or ſtead; becauſe he cannot have the ſame clear proſpect of all thoſe circumſtances which concern me in this action, whereunto he muſt neceſſarily be more a ſtranger than myſelf.

4. Unleſs in the tranſpoſing of perſons, in order to make my judgment of what I would or would not that another ſhould do to me, and conſequently to make up thereby what I ſhould or ſhould not do to him; I ſay, unleſs in ſuch a caſe, I ſhould uſe that judgment which I have at the time of ſuch deliberation and concluſion, there will follow uncertainty and deception in the application of this rule; for inſtance, a phyſician or chirurgeon hath a patient that is under a deſperate diſtemper, but he knows it not, or believes it not, and therefore is utterly averſe to thoſe ſharp remedies that are neceſſary for the preſervation of his life; the phyſician or chirurgeon muſt not meaſure his application to the patient by this rule. If I were in this patient's caſe, and under that apprehenſion that he is, I would not have theſe applications made to me,

and therefore I muſt not make them to him. But this rule muſt be, were I in this patient's condition, and had that clear ſenſe of the danger I were in, which I now have concerning him, I would have theſe applications made to me, therefore I will make them to him.

Again: If a father ſees his child hath gotten a knife, or ſome dangerous thing, which the child is extremely fond of, but the father knows it will do him miſchief: in the deliberation of the father, whether he ſhall take away this knife, the rule he muſt go by muſt not be thus; if I were this child, and had no more underſtanding than he hath, I would not have the knife taken from me, therefore I will not take it from him. But this procedure muſt be thus. I know the child will do himſelf harm with this knife, and therefore if I were this child, and had this underſtanding which I have, I ſhould be content this knife that pleaſeth me ſhould be taken from me, therefore I will take it from him. Though to make the application of this rule, I change perſons with my child, yet in this ſuppoſed tranſpoſition of perſons, I carry along with me my own judgment, diſcretion, and underſtanding that I now have about me; and though I aſſume my child's perſon in this application, yet I aſſume not his folly, childiſhneſs, and paſſion.

And by this explication, a queſtion that is often made may be reſolved, viz. Whether a parent, a nurſe, or a magiſtrate, or a phyſician, or any other perſon, may not, for the good of the child, ſubject, patient, or other perſon, deceive him, when there is no other expedient will avail the attaining of that good, or the avoiding of ſome imminent evil (always excluding a lie out of this controverſy): for inſtance, a perſon deſperately ſick, is utterly averſe to the taking of a potion, that would certainly or probably cure him, but extremely fond of a cup of ſmall beer, that alone would endanger to hurt him. The patient calls for ſmall beer, and the phyſician ſecretly conveys the potion

potion into the beer, and thereby deceives, but cures his patient. If we ſhould meaſure this rule by this application; namely, if I were this patient, and under his diſtemper and miſapprehenſion, I would not be thus deceived, and therefore I will not thus deceive him: I ſay, if we ſhould make this application in this manner, the phyſician did amiſs in this deception, though the patient be recovered by it; which ſeems to be a miſapplication in this tranſpoſition of perſons. But the rule by which the phyſician doth and may juſtify the lawfulneſs of this deception, is this: I know the patient will be endangered if he take not this potion, or drink cold beer without it; and though he, through his diſtemper, knows not his own good to be averſe to it, yet, were I in his caſe, I ſhould, under that judgment I have of things, rather be contented to be thus deceived for my cure, and therefore, I both will and may thus deceive my patient for his good: though to meaſure the juſtneſs or unjuſtneſs of this deceit, I change the ſuppoſition of perſons with him, yet in this tranſpoſition I aſſume not his diſtemper and weakneſs of mind, but keep my own judgment and underſtanding to guide my will, in relation to this action, notwithſtanding the ſuppoſed aſſumption of his perſon, thereby to apply this rule of juſtice, *quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris.* And upon the ſame account I will deceive my child, by giving him aloes, wrapt up in ſugar, to cure him of a diſeaſe, and cheat him of a thing that is, or may be, noxious to him, with what artifice I can, and yet without any violation of this ſacred rule of juſtice; for had my child that underſtanding that I have, though he needed not be cheated or deceived in this manner, yet he would be contented thus to be deceived for his good, if it were not otherwiſe attainable.

And the reaſon of the difference of theſe caſes from deceit and cozenage, in contracting or dealing, is, becauſe, in the caſes propounded, there is a defect of

underſtanding in the one party, and the deceit is for a neceſſary good to the party deceived, not otherwiſe attainable. But in the caſe of ordinary contracts and commerce between perſons, it is otherwiſe.

1. Becauſe a deceit therein ſounds to the damage of the party deceived, and not to his benefit.

2. Becauſe there is, if not an expreſs, yet an implied agreement, by the common preſumption and cuſtom among men, that there ſhould be no deceit in dealing.

And here, by the way, likewiſe, may be conſidered, the lawfulneſs or unlawfulneſs of ſtratagems and deceits between enemies in a ſtate of public war and hoſtility; by a kind of convention between enemies in hoſtility, force, and violence, mutual depredation and ſlaughter ſeem to be allowed, otherwiſe no war could be lawful. And it may ſeem probable upon the very ſame account, that ſtratagems and deceptions, ſo they arrive not at a plain lie, may be alſo lawful, becauſe perſons in open hoſtility ſeem tacitly to have agreed, that each ſhould do to the other all the miſchief they can, ſo far forth as that implied agreement is not controled, either by expreſs pactions, as truces, leagues, ſafe-conducts, or the like; or by the common laws of war, whereby poiſoning either of weapons or rivers is interdicted. Thus ſpringing of mines, ambuſhes, ſeeming retreats, or flights, do draw the enemy into an inconvenience; and a thouſand the like ſtratagems of war, are, and in all time have been, even by the law of war, uſed and allowed: thus Joſhua did to the people of Ai, Joſhua viii.; Gideon with the Midianites, Judges vii. Iſrael with the Benjamites, Judges xx. And this ſeems juſtifiable, becauſe in ſuch a time there ſeems to be, as it were, a reciprocal ſuſpenſion and laying aſide of thoſe methods of mutual commerce and intercourſe that are juſt and requiſite in time of peace; and another kind of adminiſtration of things, undertaken and allowed on both ſides, each party publicly denouncing and profeſſing to others, that

that they will uſe all acts of force and ſtratagem each to other, and that they will expect no other each from other. So that by this interpretative compact, each party hath made that lawful in time of war, which is unlawful in time of peace. And, in the practice thereof, one party doth no otherwiſe to the other, than what he interpretatively agrees and wills the other ſhould do to him, and ſo not wholly out of the extent or direction of this rule: but yet, even in this caſe, there ſeem to be theſe limitations; viz.

1. The perſon that thus practiſeth theſe ſtratagems, or, indeed, any other acts of hoſtility, had need to be very well aſſured, that the war itſelf is lawful and juſt; for that is requiſite to juſtify any hoſtile acts of what kind ſoever.

2. That there be no expreſs lie, for that ſeems not to be juſtifiable in any hoſtility, and ſeems, even by the very laws of war itſelf, to be prohibited.

3. That there be no violation of any *fides data*, and therefore the act of Jael, Judges iv. ſeems very hard in relation to Siſera; and that of Judith, in relation to Holofernes, becauſe they both ſeem to be accompanied with breach of faith, and the violation of the laws of hoſpitality. Nothing can juſtify the former, but that the Canaanites were a people devoted by Almighty God to deſtruction.

4. How far an enemy may ſolicit a defection or treachery, or may corrupt any of the adverſe party by money, or otherwiſe, to betray a truſt (a thing frequently practiſed in moſt wars), is too large a theme, only it renders the employment of a ſoldier and ſtatiſt very full of difficulties.

And thus far for the rule, or directive faculty; namely, the will of the party or agent, under a change or tranſpoſition into the party patient.

IV. The fourth thing propounded, is the extent of this rule under a three-fold relation.

1. To the thing to be done, or not done.

2. To the manner of doing it.

3. To

3. To the application of the rule negatively and affirmatively.

1. The thing to be done or not done. It includeth all moral actions from one man to another; all actions of moral righteouſneſs or juſtice, and acts of charity, come under the preceptive part; all actions of moral injuſtice, or unrighteouſneſs, or uncharitableneſs, come under the prohibitive part of it.

2. The manner of the doing comes alſo under this rule; for inſtance, where an act of charity comes under the *whatever*, as giving of alms, or remitting of an injury, I am not only under the command of doing the thing, becauſe I would have another do ſo to me, but I am alſo under the command of doing it,

(1.) Cheerfully.

(2.) Speedily.

(3.) Sincerely, and cordially, and with ſimplicity, integrity, and ſingleneſs of heart, and not cunningly or dilatorily, or hypocritically, and for by-ends; becauſe, were I to receive an alms, or a forgiveneſs, I would willingly have it done with theſe circumſtances or qualifications.

3. In relation to the application. The rule, as it is preſcribed in the Goſpel, is affirmative and preceptive: 'Whatſoever ye would that men ſhould do to you, do 'ye even ſo.' But this affirmative precept implies the negative, that ſo much celebrated rule of righteouſneſs and juſtice, 'That which ye would not that men ſhould 'do to you, do ye not to them.' This negative precept includes very much, and goes very far in the direction of this moral righteouſneſs. But the precept in the affirmative, as it is given in the Goſpel, is far more extenſive, and includes a greater meaſure and degree of Chriſtian perfection; ſo that the application of this precept is,

(1.) Negative; and that neceſſarily implies,

(2.) Affirmative.

I ſhall begin with the implied or negative precept: *Quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris*; and this extends

tends to prohibit all thoſe vicious habits or acts oppoſite either to righteouſneſs or juſtice, or to charity or goodneſs: and that upon this very reaſon or indication I would not have him do, or be thus to me.

And, therefore, if we ſhould go through all thoſe particular inſtances above given, of the oppoſite vices to righteouſneſs or charity, we ſhall find them all ſuch as we would not have others do to us.

Take it firſt in the vices and habits oppoſite to righteouſneſs. There is no man in the world that would have another malicious or envious to him, that would have another kill, or maim, or wound him; or rob, cheat, deceive, or oppreſs him in his goods or eſtate; that would have another corrupt his wife, falſely accuſe or traduce him, tell him lies or falſehoods; or that would have another break his oath, his word, his promiſe, or faith given to him; or that would have his children diſobedient, or his parents unreaſonably ſevere, his ſervants unfaithful or negligent, his maſter tyrannical; that would have his inferiors inſolent, or his ſuperiors oppreſſive; that would have his magiſtrate partial, unjuſt, or tyrannical; or his people under him, falſe or rebellious.

Again, in the habits of affections, or vices oppoſite to charity, there is no man would have another narrow-handed, when he is able to relieve his neceſſity; a rigid exacter of the extremity of the law; impatient, proud, or inſolent in his carriage towards him; making himſelf the centre of all he doth; ungrateful, rough, and ſevere and ſurly; craftily circumventing him; moroſe, cenſorious, ſupercilious; ready to cauſe or entertain falſe reports or ſurmiſes; unpeaceable, unquiet, and the like. Theſe things are ſo plain, that there needs no other evidence of the truth thereof, than the common ſenſe and ſentiments of all mankind, not one excepted; for, though there be many men that know not, it may be, what the definitions of theſe vices are, or that give a clear account wherein the formal obliquities of them doth conſiſt, yet there is no man

man ſo ſtupid, that by his own ſenſe finds not that he is unwilling to have another uſe or practiſe them upon him, becauſe he is eaſily and readily ſenſible of the ſmart inconvenience they bring to him; and therefore his will hath an averſation againſt them, as noxious, and uneaſy, and inconvenient to him.

This, therefore, is the firſt ſtep, or the firſt *postulatum*, which every man, even upon his own ſenſe, without the help of any other proceſs or inquiry, concludes, that he would not have another do, or uſe to him, any of thoſe habits or acts that are thus contrary to moral righteouſneſs, or juſtice, or charity.

2. The ſecond ſtep, or *postulatum*, is what this action is that I am about to do to another, for the matter or circumſtances of it, conſidered nakedly in itſelf, without examining whether it be or be not againſt the rules of righteouſneſs or charity; as, for inſtance, I do moſt certainly know that this action is the taking away of another man's goods, wherein I have no property, by the laws of the land werein I live; or it is an overreaching of him in a bargain, and I know it to be ſo, or the like.

3. The third procedure, after a man hath conſidered the action what it is, is for a man to conſider, whether he would that another ſhould do that action to him; and if he would not, he hath thereby given to himſelf the rule and meaſure and determination of the queſtion, whether he ought or not to do it to another, without any curious inquiry or ſpeculation, touching the juſtice or injuſtice, regularity or irregularity of the action, according to niceties and ſchool-diſtinctions. His own ſenſe is the judge; ſo that as the eye doth ſee and diſcern this colour to be one, and that to be another; this to be white, and that to be black; or at leaſt diſcerns this is grateful, that harſh, inſipid, diſtaſteful, offenſive, without any philoſophical, or logical argumentation; even ſo a man may eaſily find that this, if it were done by another to me, would be grievous and offenſive, and diſtaſteful,

ful, and in my own judgment, uncharitable and unjuſt.

And thus, as my own ſenſe, without any other ratiocination, gives me a clear ſatisfaction touching the general notion of what is unjuſt or uncharitable, that it is ſuch as I would not have done to me; ſo this laſting as it were, the particular action that is under deliberation, gives me a plain and clear eſtimate, even upon my own ſenſe and reliſh of it, that it is ſuch an action which I would not have done to me.

And here is the excellence of this rule, that whereas, as I before obſerved, the great difficulty in the regimen of a moral life, is not ſo much in the diſcovery and aſſent unto common notions, as in the due accommodation of particular actions to theſe common notions, and the true ſtating of the moral rectitude, or obliquity of particular actions; this rule in hand gives us the true and clear eſtimate of particular actions, not upon a large philoſophical procedure, or diſcurſive proceſs, but by the plain, eaſy, near evidence, as eaſy and as obvious as ſenſe itſelf; it being no more but this,—this is an action which I am very certain I would not have another do to me.

4. The conſequence and concluſion, and the final deciſion that is thereupon to be made, is this. I muſt not therefore do it to him, and I muſt not do it upon theſe two accounts:

(1.) Becauſe the Son of God hath brought from heaven, and from the great Monarch of the whole world, unto me, that I muſt not do that to another which I would not have another do to me; and if there were no other obligation upon me but his command, it is enough to enjoin my obſervance.

(2.) If there were no ſuch expreſs commands given me, yet the very precept itſelf includes a moſt evident conviction of an eternal and indiſpenſable juſtice in it; for if I judge this action ſhould not be done to me, and that it were unjuſt and unreaſonable if it were ſo done, why ſhould I go about to do that

to

to him, that I would condemn as unjuſt if done to me?

So that the reſolution of this whole deciſion ſeems to be into this ſyllogiſm.

1. Whatſoever I would not that another ſhould do to me, I may not do to him.

2. But this action now under deliberation, is ſuch that I would not another ſhould do to me.

3. Therefore I may not do it to him.

The evidence of the truth of the major propoſition is grounded upon the cleareſt evidence.

1. Of the Divine Command.

2. Of the intrinſical juſtice of the precept itſelf.

The evidence of the minor is the cleareſt evidence that can be; for I do moſt certainly know what the action is that I am about to do; and again, I do moſt certainly know, that I would not have another do is action to me: I know it as well as I know I can ſee or feel; and therefore the concluſion is moſt certain and infallible.

Only we muſt have recourſe to what hath been in general premiſed; where I would have ſpoken of the rule, or *would* in general; eſpecially where perſons are under different relations.

There ſeem to be two great obſtacles to the due and conſtant obſervance of this excellent rule:

1. Paſſion.

2. Self-love.

1. Paſſion many times ſo far prevails upon men, that it makes them precipitate and incogitant in their actions; and thereby this rule is often broken before men think of it; but ſurely this is ſuch an infirmity, that man may eaſily break by reſolution, to take a due conſideration of what he doth; and if a man will but inure himſelf a little, repeat this rule to himſelf, before he undertake any action, he will very eaſily maſter that precipitancy and incogitancy which haſte and paſſion occaſions; and he will ſoon find the benefit of this experiment.

2. Self-

2. Self-love. Man is very much addicted to love himſelf; and that ſelf-love blinds and ſeduceth his judgment, whereby he oftentimes attributes to himſelf ſuch circumſtances as render the very ſame action done by him to another to be juſt and righteous, when the very ſame action done by another to him ſeems to be unjuſt: for inſtance, Caius hath done Titus a treſpaſs: Caius comes to him, and tells him he is ſorry for it; he is a poor man, and deſires him to forgive him. Titus refuſeth; Caius replies, Sir, had you done me the like treſpaſs, and ſought to me, I ſhould have forgiven you, had you been as poor as I am, and I as rich and well able to bear it as you. Titus replies, But I have formerly obliged you by many kindneſſes, and againſt all theſe you have treſpaſſed in this treſpaſs. This is not the firſt treſpaſs you have committed; I have paſſed by many formerly; I ſhall grow contemptible, and every one will be ready to do the like, if I paſs by this: though I am richer than you, I have more dependants than you, more children and relations; and I muſt bear a part anſwerable to my place; and the damage that I have ſuſtained by this treſpaſs, hath made you richer than you were before, and me poorer; and therefore upon theſe, and many other circumſtances, the caſes are different, and I muſt have full reparation of the damage, and alſo ſecure myſelf againſt future injuries from you and others, by making you a ſevere example for this. And by ſuch kind of arguing as this, there will be a fair gloss put upon any thing; and the circumſtances which a man will draw together, to exempt a man from his duty, will be endleſs. But let Titus now be but honeſt to himſelf, and ſincerely deal thus with himſelf;—I know the treſpaſs that is committed, the damage that hath been done me, the condition I am in to bear it, the poverty of him that cannot make me ſatisfaction; I ſee his ſubmiſſion; were I in Caius's ſtead and place, would I not think it too ſevere for Titus to exact the ſeverity of the

law, or to deny a pardon for this treſpaſs that he can never ſatisfy. If I ſhould be of that mind then, I will be of the ſame mind now, and forgive him upon his ſubmiſſion, and promiſe of future amendment. The truth is, this precept doth diſcharge ſelf-love from having to do in this buſineſs of moral righteouſneſs or charity; or at leaſt, puts it in that condition, by tranſpoſition of the perſons, that it ſpeaks as much for Caius as it doth for Titus, when Titus, by tranſpoſition, ſuſtains the perſon of Caius; and ſo ſelf-love becomes equally an advocate for Titus, and againſt him.

Indeed, if a man will be wilfully and perverſely unjuſt; and although he be convinced, that he would not have the ſame thing done to him, that he is about to do to another, will, notwithſtanding the conviction, do the thing: there is nothing to be ſaid to ſuch a man, but that he hath rejected his duty to God, and the common ſentiments of righteouſneſs and goodneſs to mankind. But certainly he that deſires to walk according to the true rules of juſtice and charity, hath, if he will be but ſincere and true to himſelf in this rule of our Saviour's, a plain, eaſy, and clear direction for all actions of righteouſneſs and charity.

THE

THE

LIFE AND DEATH

OF

POMPONIUS ATTICUS:

WRITTEN BY HIS CONTEMPORARY AND ACQUAINTANCE,

CORNELIUS NEPOS;

TRANSLATED OUT OF HIS FRAGMENTS.

TOGETHER WITH

OBSERVATIONS,

POLITICAL AND MORAL, THEREUPON.

THE

EPISTLE TO THE READER.

READER,

THIS book preſents thee with the *Hiſtory of the Life and Death of* POMPONIUS ATTICUS, and the various concuſſions and revolutions that happened in the Roman ſtate and government in his time; and the wiſe methods which that excellent man uſed to preſerve the honour, innocence and ſafety of his perſon from the dangers that might occur by them.

Two things I muſt caution thee in reading hereof;

Firſt, concerning the perſon and practice of Atticus. Many things in him are worthy of imitation; his prudence, learning, beneficence, compaſſion; his great care to avoid engaging in any of thoſe factions that gave thoſe great diſturbances to the ſtate of Rome, his love to his country.

But ſome things were ſo appropriate to his perſon, condition, and circumſtances, and the manners and occurrences of that ſtate wherein he lived, that are hardly to be matched in any other perſon, and therefore may poſſibly in theſe reſpects rather give matter of admiration of his fortune, than matter of imitation of ſome of the tranſactions of his life.

Secondly, concerning the commonwealth of Rome, which in the time of Atticus, was the theatre whereupon the heads of the ſeveral parties and factions acted their parts, to the great diſturbance of that ſtate, whereof ſome account is hereafter given.

The conſtitutions of kingdoms, ſtates, and commonwealths, are in themſelves very various, but oftentimes much more various in the circumſtances that attend them; as the temper and diſpoſition of their officers, their different managements, their public concerns with other nations, and infinite more: ſo that it ſeems impoſſible that two ſtates may in all things exactly match one another; whereby it comes to paſs that ſome kingdoms, ſtates, and commonwealths are more obnoxious to public evils, eſpecially that of the coldiſpo of factions than others.

Some governments (eſpecially that of this kingdom of England) are ſo wiſely conſtituted, and ſo firmly eſtabliſhed and fixed by Law and Cuſtom, that in all human reaſon, they are not much obnoxious to ſuch factions; but if ſuch at any time ſhould happen, yet they are quickly compoſed, or effectually ſuppreſſed, or languiſh and die of themſelves in a little time. But the ſtate of the commonwealth of Rome was ſo moulded, that it was ſcarce poſſible for them to be long without ſuch ſtorms and commotions, by great factions ariſing therein; as is hereafter ſhown.

That therefore which is written in this book, was not written in relation to any kingdom or ſtate on this ſide Rome, nor even to Rome itſelf, otherwiſe than it ſtood under thoſe circumſtances of thoſe factions that were frequent therein about the time of Atticus's life.

Therefore read this book with its due application to the Roman ſtate; and to that ſtate as it was in at that time of thoſe diſturbances, and as if thou hadſt been a ſpectator of the ſcene where thoſe tragedies were acted, and then thou anſwereſt the intention of the writer; and poſſibly this pamphlet may give thee the innocent diverſion of an hour, and in ſome meaſure give thee an account of the ſtate of the Roman commonwealth, and the reaſon of the occurrences that happened therein, in and near the time of the life of Atticus, though it be by no means applicable to the kingdom, ſtate, and country, wherein thou liveſt.

If thou find the tranſlation of the life of Atticus not to run ſo ſmoothly as could be wiſhed, I have this excuſe for it, that as near as I can, I have in the tranſlation purſued the letter of the original; which, by reaſon of the difference of idioms in the Latin and Engliſh, will not allow that elegance to the tranſlation, as it is to be found in the original. In the equation of the Roman money, with the value of ours, I may in ſome places be miſtaken, becauſe of the diſcrepance between them; but this may fairly be rectified by the reader, and is not of any great conſequence to the hiſtory.

THE

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THE

LIFE OF POMPONIUS ATTICUS:

WRITTEN BY HIS CONTEMPORARY AND ACQUAINTANCE CORNELIUS NEPOS. TRANSLATED OUT OF HIS FRAGMENTS.

POMPONIUS ATTICUS, being deduced from the firſt origin of the Roman ſtock, obtained the dignity of a Roman knight, derived unto him by an uninterrupted ſucceſſion from his anceſtors. He had a diligent and indulgent father, and rich according to thoſe times, and a great lover of learning: as he loved learning himſelf, ſo he inſtructed his ſon in all that learning wherewith one of his age was fit to be furniſhed. Moreover, in this young youth, beſides his readineſs of wit, there was a certain ſweetneſs of elocution and ſpeech, whereby he did not only readily learn what was taught him, but did alſo excellently pronounce it: by which means, even in his youth, he became eminent among his equals, and ſhone forth with greater luſtre than his generous fellow-ſcholars could bear with an equal mind. He therefore by his ſtudy pricked on others; among whom were P. Torquatus, C. Marius, the ſon of Caius, and M. Cicero, all whom, by his converſation, he ſo obliged unto him, that none was dearer to them than he. His father died early; and Pomponius being then but a very young man, was not without ſome danger, by reaſon of the affinity of P. Sulpitius, who was ſlain, being tribune of the people. For Anicia the niece of Pomponius, married Servius Sulpitius, brother of P. Sulpitius. P. Sulpitius therefore being thus ſlain, as ſoon as Pomponius obſerved that the city was diſturbed by the tumult of Cinna, neither could he have liberty of living according to his rank, but that he ſhould offend one party; the minds of the citizens being disjointed, while ſome favoured the party of Sylla, others the party of Cinna; concluding it therefore a ſeaſonable time to addict himſelf to his ſtudies, he went to Athens, and yet nevertheleſs helped with his wealth young

Marius, then declared a public enemy; whoſe flight he aſſiſted with his money. And leſt this his journey ſhould bring ſome detriment to his eſtate, he removed thither a great part of his wealth. He ſo lived at Athens, that he became deſervedly moſt dear to the Athenians: for beſides that great grace which appeared in him, being then but young, he oftentimes relieved their public wants with his own wealth. For whereas here was a neceſſity of public *verſura*, taking up money at leſs intereſt, and to put it out at greater; neither had they any equal conditions in the doing thereof; he ever interpoſed, and in ſuch a manner that he never received any uſury from them, nor ſuffered his money to continue longer in their hands than the time appointed; both which were of great advantage to them: for hereby he did neither ſuffer their debts to grow ſtale by indulgence, nor to grow greater by the running on of uſury. Alſo he added to this friendlineſs by another liberality: he gave corn to all, ſo that to each perſon were given ſix meaſures of wheat, which kind of meaſure at Athens, is called *medimnus* (ſomething more than our Engliſh buſhel). He carried himſelf ſo, that he ſeemed common to the loweſt, and yet equal to the chiefeſt; whereby it came to paſs that they publicly heaped upon him all the honours they could; endeavouring to make him a free citizen of that city; which yet he refuſed (which ſome interpret becauſe the liberty of a citizen of Rome would be loſt by becoming the citizen of another city). As long as he was there, he oppoſed the ſetting up of any ſtatue for him; but could not hinder it after his departure; therefore they placed ſome for him, and Pilia (his wife) in their moſt ſacred places; for in all the buſineſſes of the republic they had him their actor and their author.

Therefore it was firſt the bounty of his fortune, that he was born in that city wherein was the palace of the empire of the world, whereby he had the fame for his country and governeſs. But it was the evidence of his prudence, that when he came into that city that excelled all other in antiquity, humanity, and learning, he became moſt dear unto it above all others.

When Sylla came hither, as he returned out of Aſia, as long as he was there, he kept Pomponius with him, being taken with the humanity and learning of the young man; for he ſpake Greek ſo well, that he ſeemed born at Athens. But ſo great was his ſweetneſs in the Latin tongue, that there appeared to be in him a certain native grace, and not acquired.

acquired. He pronounced poems in Greek and Latin, ſo that nothing could be done better: by which means it came to paſs, that Sylla would never let him go from him, and deſired to carry him along with him. To whom, when he endeavoured to perſuade him, Pomponius ſaid, I pray thee do not deſire to lead me againſt thoſe with whom, (leſt I ſhould bear arms againſt thee) I left Italy. But Sylla commending the kindneſs of the young man, departing from Athens, commanded that all the preſents which he had there received, ſhould be delivered to Pomponius. Here living many years, he employed ſo much of his endeavours for the affairs of his family, that he became a diligent father of a family, and allowed all the reſt of his time either to learning, or the affairs of the commonwealth of the Athenians; yet nevertheleſs he performed all civil offices to his friends, for he came to their aſſemblies; and if any great buſineſs was in action, he was not wanting: he yielded a ſingular fidelity to Cicero in all his dangers; to whom, flying from his country, he gave 250,000 ſeſtertia (two thouſand eighty-three pounds ſix ſhillings eight pence); but the Roman affairs being appeaſed, he returned to Rome, L. Cotta and L. Torquatus being (as I think) conſuls; which day the Athenians ſo entertained, that by their tears they ſhewed their ſorrow for their future loſs. He had an uncle, Q. Cæcilius, a Roman knight, and a friend of L. Lucullus, rich, of a nature hard to be pleaſed; whoſe frowardneſs he ſo weathered, that he kept, without offence, the good-will of that man, to his extremeſt old age, whom no other could patiently bear; by which means he gained the fruit of his obſervances: for Cæcilius dying, by his will adopted him, and made him his heir of three-fourth parts of all he had; out of which inheritance, he received centies L L S. (or to the value of 300,000 crowns, according to ſome; or 83,360 lib. according to others). His ſiſter was married to Q. Tullius Cicero; which match M. Tullius Cicero brought about; with whom, being his ſchool-fellow, he lived moſt entirely, and much more familiarly than with Quintius: whereby it appeared, that in friendſhip likeneſs of manners was far more prevalent than affinity. He uſed Q. Hortenſius very intimately (who in thoſe times obtained the maſtery of eloquence), ſo that it was hard to underſtand who loved him beſt, Cicero or Hortenſius. And herein he effected that which was of greateſt difficulty, that between thoſe betwixt whom there was the greateſt emulation of praiſe, there interceded no detraction, and that he became the

the common uniter of them both. He carried himſelf ſo in the commonwealth, that he always was, and was thought to be of the beſt party; yet he would not commit himſelf to the waves of civil diſſention; which he eſteemed to be no more in the power of him that ſhould deliver himſelf over to them, than if he had been toſſed on the waves of the ſea. He ſought not honours, although they lay open to him, either by reaſon of his favour or of his dignity, becauſe they could neither be ſought according to the ancient uſe, nor taken up with due obſervance of the laws, among thoſe exceſſive charges that accompanied ſuch competitions, nor could they be born in the commonwealth without danger, the manners of the citizens of Rome being very much corrupted.

He never came to public ſales, neither became he a public farmer of any thing, or a ſurety thereof. He accuſed no man, either by his own ſubſcription, or by proxy. He never went to law touching his own intereſt, nor had any law-ſuits. He entertained the prefectures of many conſulates and prætors offered unto him, that he would follow none to a province, being contented with the honour of the offer, but deſpiſed the fruit of its private advantage; and would not go even with Q. Cicero into Aſia, when he might have obtained the place of legate with him. For he thought it became not him, who would not be a prætor, to become the follower of a prætor. In which thing he did not only ſerve his own dignity, but alſo his own tranquillity; while he avoided the very ſuſpicions of offences: whence it came to paſs, that his reſpect was the more valuable to all men, which they plainly ſaw was to be attributed to his kindneſs, and not to hope.

The civil war of Cæſar happened when he was about 60 years old. He uſed that vacancy that belonged to his age, neither did he ſtir any way out of the city. All thoſe things that were needful for ſuch of his friends as went to Pompey, he ſupplied out of his own eſtate. Neither did he offend his friend Pompey; for he would receive of him no eminent bounty, as others, who by his means obtained honours or wealth, part of whom, even againſt their wills, followed him to the field, and part ſtaid at home, not without his great offence. But the ſitting ſtill of Atticus was ſo acceptable to Cæſar, that when he returning victor, commanded money from private perſons by his letters, he was not only not troubleſome to Atticus, but delivered up the ſon of his ſiſter and Q. Cicero, taken in Pompey's camp.

Thus

Thus by keeping the old courſe of his life, he eſcaped new dangers. After this, it followed, Cæſar being ſlain, when the commonwealth ſeemed to be wholly in the power of Brutus and Caſſius and their party, and the whole city ſeemed to ſtand at gaze what Atticus would do; he ſo dealt with M. Brutus, that that young man uſed no equal more familiarly than he did this aged Atticus; and had him not only the governor of his council, but alſo the companion of his table. It was contrived by ſome, that a private treaſury ſhould be raiſed for the murderers of Cæſar by the Roman cavalry. They thought this might eaſily be effected, if the chief of that order did contribute money.

Therefore Atticus was called by C. Flavius, a familiar friend of Brutus, that he ſhould be the chief of that undertaking: but he who always eſteemed good offices to be done to his friends without faction, and always kept himſelf from ſuch kind of councils, anſwered, that if Brutus would uſe any of his riches, he might uſe what they were able to bear, but that he would neither ſpeak nor meet with any perſon about that matter. So that ball of contention, by this one man's diſcretion, was broken [1]. Not long after, Antony began to be uppermoſt, ſo that Brutus and Caſſius (the affairs of thoſe provinces (which, by way of diſſimulation, were aſſigned to them by the conſuls) being deſperate) were baniſhed. Atticus, who would not give money with others to that party when it flouriſhed, ſent to Brutus, being now an abject, and going out of Italy, L L S Centum, or 3000 crowns, and gave order, being abſent, that 300 ſeſtertia more ſhould be delivered to him in Epirus: neither did he, upon his change, the more flatter Antony, or leave the diſtreſſed. After this followed the battle at Mucinia, wherein, if I ſhould only call him prudent, I ſhould ſay leſs than I ought; when rather he was divine, if a perpetual natural goodneſs, which is neither ſhaken nor diminiſhed by any caſualties, is to be called divineneſs.

Antony being a declared enemy, went out of Italy, having no hope of reſtitution; not only his enemies, who were then powerful and many, but even his very friends, gave themſelves up to his adverſaries, and hoped they ſhould obtain ſome benefit by hurting of him; perſecuting thoſe of his family, deſired to plunder his wife Fulvia of all her goods, and went about to deſtroy his children. Atticus uſing a moſt intimate familiarity with Cicero, and being moſt friendly to Brutus, did not only not allow them to injure Antony, but on the contrary, as much as he could, hid

[1] Mistranslated. See the Appendix to his Life.

thoſe

thoſe of his family flying out of the city, and helped them with the things they wanted: and gave to P. Volummius, ſuch things, that more could not have been from a father. And whereas Fulvia was involved in ſuits, and vexed with great terrors; he performed his office of kindneſs toward her with ſo much diligence, that ſhe gave no pledge without Atticus; he was the ſurety for all things. And further, whereas in her proſperous fortune ſhe had bought a farm to be paid at a day, and after this calamity, could not take up money to pay; he interpoſed himſelf, and ſent her money without uſury and without ſecurity; eſteeming it the greateſt gain to be known to be mindful and grateful; and to make it manifeſt that he was uſed to be a friend to men, and not to fortune; which things, while he did, no man could well think he did it to ſerve the time; for no man thought that Antony could ever return again. Neverthelefs he was reproved by ſome great men, that he ſeemed too little to hate evil citizens: but he being conſtant to his own judgment, reſpected rather what was fit for him to do, than what others were ready to commend. The wheel of fortune is ſuddenly turned. As Antony returned into Italy, every man thought Atticus was in great danger, by reaſon of his intimate familiarity with Cicero and Brutus: Atticus therefore at the coming in of the Emperor, withdrew from the city, fearing baniſhment, and hid himſelf with P. Volummius, to whom, as we have a little before ſhewn, he gave his aſſiſtance (ſo great was the variety of fortune in thoſe times, that ſometimes theſe, ſometimes thoſe, were in the greateſt power or danger), and he had with him Q. Gellius Canius his equal, and very like him. And this is another example of the goodneſs of Atticus, that he lived ſo entirely with him whom he knew his play-fellow from a boy, that their friendſhip increaſed even to their utmoſt old age: but Antony, though he was carried with ſo great hatred againſt Cicero, that he was not only an enemy to him, but alſo to all his friends, and would baniſh them all, yet many reminding him, he remembered the good offices of Atticus; and when one had enquired where he was, he wrote to him with his own hand, that he ſhould not fear, and that he ſhould preſently come to him; that he had exempted him and Gellius Canius from the number of the baniſhed: and leſt he ſhould fall into any dangers, becauſe it was night, he ſent him a guard.

Thus Atticus, in his greateſt fear, was a ſafeguard not only to himſelf, but alſo to him whom he held moſt dear: for

for he ſought not only for his own ſafety, but jointly for others; that it might appear, that he would no fortune of his ſhould be disjointed from his friend. Therefore if a pilot deſerves great praiſe, that ſaves his ſhip from the ſtorm and rocky ſea, why ſhould not his ſingular prudence be valued, which out of ſo many and ſo great civil ſtorms came to ſafety: and to diſcharge himſelf from theſe evils, he did nothing elſe than to become an aſſiſtance to the moſt in what he could. When the common people, by the rewards of the conqueror, redeemed ſome of thoſe that were baniſhed, none of the baniſhed came into Epirus, to whom any thing was wanting: and all that came thither, had liberty of remaining there. But alſo after the battle at Phillippi, and the death of Caſſius and Brutus, he purpoſed to protect L. Julius Merilla the pretor, and his ſon Aulus Torquatus, and the reſt that were ſtricken with the like fortune, and took order that to them all things neceſſary ſhould be privately conveyed from Epirus to Samothracia. It is difficult to reckon up all things he did, and note ſuch as are neceſſary to be remembered. This one thing we would to be underſtood, that his liberality was neither temporary nor crafty, that may be judged by the things and times themſelves; that he commended not himſelf to thoſe that were proſperous, but always helped thoſe that were in diſtreſs; who therefore reſpected Servilia the mother of Brutus no leſs after his death than while he flouriſhed: thus managing his liberality, he maintained no enmity, becauſe he neither injured any, neither if he received any injury, had he rather revenge than forget it. With a never-dying memory he retained benefits received; but thoſe which he did, he only remembered ſo long as he continued grateful that had received them. He did therefore, ſo that it ſeems truly ſaid, every man's manners faſhion to every man his own fortune; and yet he firſt faſhioned himſelf before his fortune, who took care that in nothing he might be juſtly puniſhed. By theſe things he brought to paſs that M. Ulpſanius Agrippa (one joined to young Cæſar in intimate familiarity), who by reaſon of his own favour and Cæſar's authority, had a power upon perſons of every condition, did chiefly deſire the affinity of Atticus, and ſued to have the noble daughter of this Roman knight in marriage; and the maker of this match was M. Antony the Triumvir of the commonwealth; by whoſe favour, when he might have increaſed his poſſeſſions, he was ſo far from the deſire of money, that he uſed it in no other thing than in deprecat-

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ing either the dangers or inconveniences of his friends: which was eminent even under the very proſcription itſelf. For whereas the Triumviri, according to the cuſtom whereby things were then managed, ſold the goods of L. Sanſeus, a Roman knight, his equal, who lived many years at Athens, being thereunto led by the deſire of philoſophy, and had fair poſſeſſions in Italy. By the labour and induſtry of Atticus, it was brought to paſs, that by the ſame meſſenger, Sanſeus was informed that he had loſt his patrimony, and re-obtained it again. The ſame Atticus delivered Julius Claudius, the moſt elegant poet of his age, next after the death of Lucretius and Catullus, and a very good man, well inſtructed in the beſt arts; who after the proſcription of the Roman knights, was, for his large poſſeſſions in Africa, brought into the liſt of the baniſhed in his abſence, by P. Volumnius, general of the workmen of Antony; which at preſent it is difficult to judge whether it was more painful or glorious for him to effect, becauſe it was known that Atticus had a care for his friends in their dangers, whether abſent or preſent.

And this man Atticus was eſteemed no leſs a good father of a family, than a good citizen; for whereas he was full of money, no man was leſs a buyer, or leſs a builder: and yet he dwelt very well, and enjoyed all things of the beſt: for he had a houſe in the Quirinal-hill, left to him hereditarily by his uncle, whoſe pleaſantneſs was not ſo much in the building, as in the groves adjoining. For his houſe being an ancient built houſe, had more of decency than of coſt; wherein he changed nothing but what he was compelled to by its decay.

He had a family, that, if we may judge by its profitableneſs, was the beſt; if by the form of it, not mean; for in it were moſt learned youths: excellent clerks, and many well read in books; that there was ſcarce a foot-boy, but could well do any of theſe buſineſſes; in like manner other artificers requiſite for houſhold affairs, ſingular good: and yet he had none of theſe, but ſuch as were born and taught in his houſe; which is a ſign not only of continence, but of diligence. For not intemperately to deſire that which thou ſeeſt deſired of many, ought to be eſteemed the ſign of a continent perſon; and to procure rather by diligence, than purchaſe it, of no ſmall induſtry. He was neat, not ſtately; handſome, not ſumptuous; he affected with all diligence, a cleanlineſs without ſuperfluity; his houſhold ſtuff moderate, not much; ſo that in it neither extreme appeared; neither

neither ſhall I paſs by this, although I gueſs it may ſeem light to ſome. Whereas he was a chief Roman knight, and did very liberally invite men of all ranks to his houſe, yet we know that he ſpent not monthly more than 3000 ærii, (about 10*l.* ſterling); and this we ſpeak not by hear-ſay, but of our own knowledge; for by reaſon of our familiarity with him, we were often preſent at his domeſtic affairs. No man in his feaſts heard any other *acroama* than a philoſophical lecture, which we eſteemed moſt pleaſant; neither did he ever ſup without ſome philoſophical lecture, that his gueſts might be delighted as well in their minds, as in their appetites; for he invited thoſe whoſe manners agreed with his. When ſo great an acceſſion of money happened to him, he changed nothing in his daily deportment, nothing in the cuſtom of his life: and he uſed ſo great moderation, that neither under the 200,000 ſeſterces, or 60,000 crowns, he had from his father, he carried himſelf leſs ſplendidly; nor under the 100,000 ſeſterces or 30,000 crowns (which he had from his uncle) he lived with greater affluence than he before had appointed; but under both fortunes he uſed the like port. He had no gardens, no country-houſe, or ſumptuous maritime dwelling. Nor in Italy had he more than his country farm of Ardeali and Nomentanum. All his rents were in what he had at Epirus, and city poſſeſſions, whereby it may be known, that he was fully accuſtomed to meaſure out the employment of his money, not by vaſt expence, but by reaſon. He neither would ſpeak, nor could ſuffer a lie: therefore his mirth was not without ſeverity, nor his gravity without affability; ſo that it was hard to underſtand whether his friends more reverenced than loved him. When any thing was deſired of him, he promiſed always with religious obſervance; becauſe he judged it the part of a light, not of a liberal man, to promiſe what he could not perform. His care was ſo great in endeavouring the fulfilling of what he once undertook for any other, that he ſeemed herein not ſo much to do another's buſineſs, as his own: he never was weary of any buſineſs he undertook; for he eſteemed his own credit to be concerned in it, than which, nothing was dearer unto him: whence it came to paſs that he performed all the buſineſſes of M. and Q. Cicero, Cato, Hortenſius, Aulus, Torquatus, and many other Roman knights beſides.

Whereby it may be well judged that he avoided the procuration of the commonwealth, not for ſloth, but in judgment, can give no greater teſtimony of his humanity,

nity, than that being a young man, he was moſt delightful to Sylla, an old man; and being an old man, moſt delightful to Brutus, a young man: But with his equals, Q. Hortenſius and M. Cicero, he ſo lived, that it is hard to judge for what age he was fitteſt. Although Cicero ſo greatly loved him, that his brother Quintius was not more dear or familiar to him; and this was an evidence hereof, that beſides thoſe books that are now publiſhed, in which he makes mention of him, there are ſixteen volumes of epiſtles ſent to Atticus, from the firſt conſulate of Cicero, to the laſt end of his life; which whoſoever reads, will not much want a continued hiſtory of thoſe times: for all things concerning the deſigns of the great men, the faults of the commanders, the changes of the commonwealth, are ſo fully written, that all things appear in thoſe writings; and it may be eaſily collected that prudence is in a manner divination: for Cicero did not only foretel thoſe things that afterwards fell out in his lifetime; but alſo he preſaged, as a prophet, thoſe things that now come to paſs. And what ſhould I relate more touching the piety of Atticus, when as I myſelf heard him truly glorying at the funeral of his mother, who being ninety years old, he buried when he was ſixty-ſeven years old, that he never was reconciled to his mother, nor ever was at difference with his ſiſter, who was near his own age; which was a ſign that either there was never any controverſy between them, or that he was of that indulgence to his relations, that he held it a crime to be angry with thoſe whom he ought to love. Neither did he this only by nature, although all of us ought to obey it, but alſo by his learning; for he ſo well underſtood the precepts of the chief philoſophers, that he uſed them for the ordering his life, and not for oſtentation. He was a ſtrict imitator of the cuſtoms of the ancients, and a lover of antiquity, which he ſo diligently knew, that he declared it in that volume wherewith he adorned the Roman magiſtrates: for there was no law, no peace, no war, no notable thing of the people of Rome, which is not ſet down in its order of time in that volume. And (which is a thing of great difficulty) he ſo unfolded the original of families, that we may thereby know the pedigrees of eminent men: he did this alſo ſeverally in other books, ſo that at the requeſt of M. Brutus, he deduced in order the Junian family, from its root down to this age: ſetting down who and of whom every one aroſe, what honours they received, and in what time. In like manner, he did, at the requeſt of Marcellus Claudius, touching

touching the family of the Marcelli, and at the requeſt of Cornelius Scipio and Fabius Maximus, touching the families of the Cornelii and Fabii, and alſo of the Emilii: than which books, nothing can be more pleaſant to them that have the deſire of the knowledge of eminent men. Alſo I believe he had ſkill in poetry; and was not wanting in the ſweetneſs thereof: for he declared in verſe what perſons exceeded others of the Roman people in honour and amplitude of great exploits; ſo that under the ſtatues of every perſon he wrote, in no more than four or five verſes, their exploits and magiſtracies (which is ſcarce to be believed that ſo great things ſhould be ſo briefly declared). There was alſo another book of his in Greek, of the Conſulate of Cicero.—Hitherto theſe things were publiſhed by us, Atticus living. Now becauſe fortune was pleaſed that we ſhould ſurvive him, we will proſecute the reſt; and as much as we may, we will inſtruct the readers by examples of things, as we have above declared, that every man's manners procure to him his fortune; for he being content with the equeſtrial order, wherein he was born, arrived to the affinity of Julius, the Emperor's ſon, whoſe acquaintance he formerly gained by no other thing than the handſomeneſs of his life; whereby he won to himſelf other princes of an equal dignity and lower fortune: for ſo great a proſperity followed Cæſar, that fortune denied him nothing which ſhe had before given or beſtowed upon any, whereunto any citizen of Rome could poſſibly attain. Now there was born to Atticus, a niece of Agrippa, to whom he had married his virgin-daughter; her being ſcarce a year old, Cæſar eſpouſed to Tiberius Claudius Nero, his ſon-in-law, born of Druſilla; which conjunction confirmed their friendſhip, and rendered their familiar intercourſe the more frequent; although before theſe eſpouſals, not only when he was abſent from the city, he never ſent letters to any of his relations; but he ſent Atticus word what he did, and principally what he read, and in what places, and how long he was to ſtay; but alſo when he was in the city, and by reaſon of his infinite buſineſs, enjoyed Atticus oftentimes leſs than he deſired; yet no day almoſt paſſed wherein he did not write to him, wherein he did not enquire of him ſomewhat touching antiquity; ſometimes he propounded to him ſome poetical queſtion; ſometimes, merrily jeſting, he drew out from him letters of length: whereby it came to paſs, that the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, built in the Capitol by Romulus, by length of time and neglect, becoming uncovered, was fallen down,

that by the perſuaſion of Atticus, Cæſar took order for rebuilding it: Neither, being abſent, was he leſs complimented by letters from Antony, inſomuch that, while he was in exile, he acquainted Atticus what was done in the land of his exile, what he did, and what he cared for. What a kind of matter this was, he will eaſily eſteem that can judge of how great wiſdom it was to retain the uſe and good-will of them between whom there was not only a mutual emulation of matters of greateſt moment, but between whom ſo great detraction of either from other, did intervene, as was neceſſarily to be between Cæſar and Antony, while each deſired to be the Prince, not only of Rome, but of the whole world. In this manner, when he had completed ſeventy-ſeven years of his life, and to the extremity of his old age had increaſed no leſs in dignity than in favour and fortune, (for he gained great poſſeſſions by no other means than his goodneſs; and had enjoyed ſo great a proſperity of health, that for thirty years he wanted no phyſic) he got a diſeaſe, which himſelf and phyſicians at firſt deſpiſed; for at firſt they thought it a teneſmus, whereunto ſpeedy and eaſy medicines were propounded.

Under this diſeaſe he continued three months without any pains but what he received from the endeavour of his cure. Suddenly ſo great a violence of the diſeaſe broke in upon one of his inteſtines, that at the latter end a putrid fiſtula broke out through his loins. And before this happened, after that he felt his pains daily to increaſe, and that a fever came upon him, he commanded his ſon-in-law Agrippa to be ſent for to him, and with him P. Cornelius Balbus, and Sextus Peducæus. As ſoon as he ſaw they were come, leaning upon his elbow, he ſaid, There is no need for me in many words to declare how great care and diligence I have uſed in the preſervation of my health, ſince I have you the witneſſes of it. And becauſe I hope I have ſatisfied you that I have omitted nothing which might belong to my recovery, it remains that I ſhould now adviſe myſelf: I would not have you ignorant of this thing; for I am purpoſed to ceaſe to nouriſh my diſeaſe: for theſe many days whatſoever meat I have taken, I have thereby ſo lengthened out my life, that I have increaſed my pains without any hope of health; therefore firſt I deſire of you, that you do approve of my purpoſe; and next, that you do not vainly endeavour to diſſuade me. This ſpeech being uttered with ſo great ſettledneſs of ſpeech and countenance, that he ſeemed not to depart from life, but

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out of one houſe into another: But when Agrippa, weeping and kiſſing him, did pray and beſeech him that he would not haſten that to himſelf, which nature would compel, and becauſe he might then live ſomewhat longer, that he ſhould reſerve himſelf as long as he might to himſelf and his friends, he ſtopped his intreaties by a ſilent obſtinacy: ſo when he had forborn meat two days, his fever ſuddenly left him; and his diſeaſe ſeemed more eaſy, yet he continued his purpoſe. In the fifth day, therefore, after he had taken this reſolution, *prid. Calend. Aprilis*, C. Domitius and C. Soſius being Conſuls, he died. He was raiſed up in his bed, as he commanded, without any funeral pomp; all good men, and a great concourſe of the common people accompanying him: he was buried near the Via Appia, at the fifth ſtone from the city, in the monument of Q. Cæcilius his uncle.

CHAP. I.

A BRIEF CHRONOLOGICAL ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE OF ATTICUS.

SUCH was the life and death of this worthy Pomponius Atticus, deſcribed by one that was contemporary with him, and well acquainted with him, namely, Cornelius Nepos, who, as himſelf witneſſeth, wrote this hiſtory about the beginning of Auguſtus, that every circumſtance thereof deſerves a diſtinct obſervation.

And therefore I ſhall proceed to do theſe things. Firſt, to give a chronological account of the life of Atticus, and of thoſe great occurrences that happened in the Roman ſtate within the compaſs of his life. Secondly, to give ſome account of the reaſon of thoſe great motions that happened in this period in the ſtate and commonwealth of Rome. Thirdly, to make ſome obſervations touching the honeſt and wiſe methods that Atticus uſed to preſerve himſelf and his eſtate, without loſs or diſhonour, among all theſe great motions, revolutions and dangers, that happened in the ſtate of Rome by theſe civil diſſentions.

Touching the firſt of theſe, I ſhall give a ſhort chronological account of the life of Atticus, and thoſe great diſturbances and civil wars that happened in Rome during the time of his life, that ſo it may appear what they were when they happened, and the various ſucceſſes they had, whereby at

once it may appear what difficulties and ſtorms happened in his time, and how they were by this man's prudence weathered in the ſeveral periods of his life. And herein I ſhall be but brief, and mention only thoſe of great moment, and ſuch wherein this man's concernment principally lay; omitting many, which though had they been ſingle, might have been worth the remembring; yet they were but branches of theſe greater commotions, and ſprang from them, and were but ſmall in compariſon of them.

Neither ſhall I be over curious in this account, but only mention them ſo far as they conduce to my purpoſe. He that liſts to take a full view of all the hiſtory, may find at large in the Roman hiſtories, eſpecially Florus, Paterculus, Dion. Caſſius and Plutarchus, in the lives of Marius, Sylla, Sertorius, Pompey, Cæſar, Antony, and Octavius, afterwards Auguſtus Cæſar.

I ſhall diſpoſe of the times in their order, according as they fall in the Julian period, becauſe of the difference among chronologers touching the computations of the years of the world, of the building of Rome, or of the Olympiades into which theſe occurrences might be otherwiſe aptly enough diſpoſed.

Pomponius Atticus died in the 77th year of his age, C. Domitius and C. Soſius being conſuls, as Cornelius Nepos tells us, which was in the 12th year of Auguſtus, the next year before the Pugna Actiaca between Auguſtus and Marcus Antonius, and two years before the taking of Alexandria by Auguſtus, which was the fatal and funeral deletion of Antony. The death therefore of Pomponius Atticus was in or very near the 4683 year of the Julian period; and by this means we come to find out the ſeveral periods of his birth, and other the occurrences that happened to him and the ſtate of Rome, within the time of his life.

If therefore we ſubduct the years of Atticus's age, namely, 77 years current out of 4683 years, it gives us the time of his birth, viz. about the year 4606 of the Julian period, in or near the conſulate of Sulpitius Galba and Marcus Scaurus.

Marius, that great commander and popular citizen, whom we ſhall have occaſion often to mention, grew into his great power and authority by countenancing the popular intereſt at Rome, againſt the ſenate and the optimates. He laid the foundation of all thoſe future ſtorms in the ſtate of Rome, which were the occaſion of ſo much bloodſhed, and the final ruin of the ancient government thereof, and ſetting up that empire that began in Julius Cæſar, and was completed

completed in Auguſtus, his heir and ſucceſſor. The ſixth conſulate of Marius happened in the year of the Julian period 4614, at which time Pomponius was about eight years old.

And now the civil wars in Rome began to break out; the proceſs whereof were as followeth.

4614.—In the ſixth conſulate of Marius, by the help of Saturninus, tribune of the people, Metellus Nonus Dicus was baniſhed; this cauſed ill blood in Rome.

4616.—For within two years after, by the ſolicitation of Quintus Metellus's father, Metellus was by the people recalled out of baniſhment; which was ſo great an eyeſore to Marius, that he withdrew himſelf from Rome, and went into Cappadocia.

After this Marius returned to Rome, when Lucius Cornelius Sylla, a valiant man, was in great eſteem, a friend to the ſenate and the nobility, a man that had been very ſucceſsful in ſuppreſſing the war of the confederates of Italy againſt Rome.

4676.—Between Marius and Sylla there grew great animoſities and emulation, which at length broke out in open violence. For Sylla was choſen by the nobility and ſenate (to whom he was greatly addicted) to proſecute the war againſt Mithridates; and in purſuance thereof, took his journey with his army. In his purſuit of this war, he took Athens by long ſiege; where he was often before his final return to Rome; where he met with Pomponius Atticus, and ſhewed him the reſpects mentioned in his life.

Marius, to carry on his own deſigns, and to root out Sylla, falls in with the common people, and by the help of Sulpitius, a bold and turbulent tribune, gets the province of Aſia, and the management of the war againſt Mithridates, to be decreed to himſelf.

But the army being conſtant to Sylla, would not ſubmit to the government of Marius. Whereupon, Marius put divers of the friends of Sylla to death, and made a great alteration in the ſtate of Rome.

4626-7.—Upon this inſolence of Marius, things running into a popular confuſion under the conduct of Marius and Sulpitius, the nobility gave advice thereof to Sylla: whereupon he ſent Murena his legate, with the greateſt part of his army, to proſecute the war againſt Mithridates, and takes the reſt with him, and returns to Rome.

Againſt him Sulpitius and Marius make oppoſition; but Sylla prevailed: Sulpitius is ſlain, and Marius flying, is by

edict baniſhed, and fled into Africa, whither his ſon, young Marius, the ſchool-fellow of Atticus, fled to his father.

This is that Sulpitius mentioned in the life of Atticus, who being thus ſlain, Atticus ſeeing the ſtate of Rome to grow troubleſome and unſafe, all perſons of note being drawn into the one party or the other, took his journey to Athens. He was then, as it ſeems, about twenty years old.

Sylla intending to make all things as ſure as he might, uſed extreme ſeverity againſt Marius' party, killing ſome, and baniſhing others; and having ſettled his buſineſs at Rome, proceeded in his expedition againſt Mithridates.

4628.—C. Octavius and Cornelius Cinna are made conſuls. Cinna, though he had made firm promiſe upon his entry into his conſulate, to adhere to Sylla's party, yet he was in truth of Marius' party, and quickly diſcovered it after Sylla's departure.

Hereupon there grew diſſention between the two conſuls, and great ſlaughters and proſcriptions uſed in Rome, according as either party prevailed. At length Octavius prevailed, and Cinna was baniſhed.

Cinna, after his baniſhment, went into Africa, and met with his friend Marius in an obſcure condition; where they enter into new counſels, which created future diſturbances: for the Marian faction was not ſo ſuppreſſed by Sylla, but that they had ſufficient power to give new trouble to the ſtate of Rome, if they had but Marius or Cinna to head them. Thereupon Marius and Cinna return into Italy, raiſe a ſufficient force of their friends and party, enter into Rome, ſubdue Octavius, and ſlew him.

And now again the party of Marius and Cinna grew as high as ever; and it is incredible what ſlaughters they made in Rome of ſuch as oppoſed them, or ſuch as they but ſuſpected not to be true and cordial to them.

4627-8.—In the very ſame year of Marius' return, Marius takes his ſeventh conſulate, Cinna being his colleague; and they held up their faction for about four years following, with great ſeverity againſt all they ſuſpected not to be cordial to them, with murder and baniſhment: ſo that moſt of the nobility that eſcaped their fury, fled to Sylla, and ſolicited his return to relieve their oppreſſed country.

4631.—In the conſulate of Scipio and Norbanus Flaccus, being the third conſulate after Marius his ſeventh conſulate, Sylla having ſettled his buſineſs of Mithridates, returns

turns with a great army into Italy, and ſubdued the two conſuls Scipio and Flaccus.

But the party of Marius (who, as it ſeems, was ſlain in this battle, or as others ſay, died) kept ſtill the city of Rome; young Marius, the ſon of Marius, and C. Carbo, are there made conſuls, and exerciſed extreme cruelty at Rome, towards thoſe that were ſuſpected to be of Sylla's party.

Againſt Rome Sylla draws his army and ſoon ſubdued and ſlew theſe two conſuls, and took the city, where he was created dictator; and again uſed all manner of ſeverity againſt thoſe of the Marian party: he lived about four years after he recovered Rome, and died in the conſulate of Lepidus aud Catullus, 4636.

And theſe were the viciſſitudes of the factions of Marius and Sylla, and their parties: firſt Marius prevailed, then Sylla; then Marius again, and then Sylla again; and then the faction of Marius ſeemed wholly ſuppreſt; yet the root of this evil diſſention was not utterly extirpated; but out of it there aroſe the ſeeds of all thoſe civil wars that happened in the Roman commonwealth till the final change of the government thereof in Octavius Cæſar. For all the troubles and changes that happened afterwards between Cæſar and Pompey, between Brutus and Antony, between Antony and Auguſtus, did ſpring from thoſe parties and factions whoſe foundations were laid in Marius and Sylla.

And now things being for the time ſettled by the ſevere government of Sylla, it ſeems that ſhortly after the death of Sylla, Pomponius returned from Athens, being about thirty years old, and brought with him a very great acceſſion of learning, reputation and honour, and the firname of Atticus, and lived in Rome till his death.

When Atticus was near ſixty years old, thoſe mutual emulations and jealouſies that had long fermented, began to break out into a more public breach; namely, preſently after the conſulate of Marcellus and Lentulus, about the year of the Julian period, 4665. Preſently after this conſulate, Julius Cæſar being abſent in the war committed to him, made ſuit to be choſen conſul; Pompey being of great power and intereſt, eſpecially with the nobility and ſenate, oppoſed it as a thing unuſual for any to be choſen conſul being abſent. Though this were his pretence, ye the true reaſon was, his ſuſpicion of the growing greatne

of Cæſar. By this means Cæſar was diſappointed, and others choſen conſuls.

Cæſar being enraged with this diſappointment, and judging that worſe was like to enſue by Pompey and his party, drew the army under his command into Italy, came to Brunduſium, where Pompey was but eſcaped by flight; thence he led his army to Rome; from whence the ſenate were alſo fled. There he made himſelf conſul, broke open the public treaſury, and wanted nothing but the name of being monarch or emperor; though he kept up the ſhell and the form of their former government. After this he ſo cloſely perſecuted Pompey, that in the battle of Pharſalia, and ſome other enſuing battles, the forces and power of Pompey were totally broken, and Pompey himſelf baſely ſlain by Septimius.

Cæſar continued his greatneſs for about five years; and in the fifth year, Cæſar and Antony being conſuls, Cæſar was baſely murdered by Brutus and his accomplices in the ſenate houſe; this was in the year of the Julian period 4671, which was about the ſixty-fourth year of the life of Atticus.

This villany was committed partly to prevent the growing power of Cæſar, whereby they feared his affectation of the empire, and change of the government, and partly upon the ſcore of Pompey (for his aſſaſſinates were moſt of his party) and in revenge of his fall.

Cæſar, by his will, left Octavius, his ſiſter's ſon, his adopted heir, who thereupon ſoon took the ſirname of Cæſar.

After the death of Julius Cæſar, there happened a ſtrange complicated faction in Rome: Firſt, between the murderers of Cæſar and the Pompeian party, of the one part; and the Cæſarean party, Antony and Octavius, of the other part. And then between Antony of the one part, and Octavius of the other part; for Antony being great and powerful, and finding that Octavius was the declared heir of Julius Cæſar, thought himſelf neglected, and began to envy Octavius, who not being above nineteen years old, began to grow great in the army and city, being a man full of worth, and looked upon as one that might probably and reaſonably ſucceed his uncle in all his greatneſs, eſpecially being declared his adopted heir.

And hence it came to paſs, that both Octavius and Antony ſo far agreed as much as they could, to ſuppreſs

the

the party of Brutus and Caſſius, and other the aſſaſſinates of Cæſar, and yet kept a jealous eye one over the other.

But on the one ſide, the ſenate and people of Rome had a great reſpect and honour for Brutus and Caſſius, as being the pretended champions for the Roman liberty. On the other ſide, Antony and Octavius had great relations and great intereſt in the Roman armies.

The ſenate therefore, willing to divide the intereſts of Antony and Octavius, and diſcerning ſome animoſity between them, as they kept up the repute of Brutus and Caſſius, ſo they courted and complimented Octavius, and withal at the ſame time made Octavius pro-pretor, and Antony declared a public enemy. This was done in the year of the Julian period 4671, Hirſus and Pauſa being conſuls; and the proſecution of the war againſt Antony, was, in name at leaſt, committed to Octavius, though ſtill Brutus and Caſſius were the perſons principally truſted.

The war againſt Antony ſucceeded well, and the Pompeian party and ſenate having now obtained their ends in the honour they did to Octavius, namely, the dividing him from Antony, and thereby ſtrengthening themſelves, and weakening their opponents, in the ſame year began to give evidence of their public neglect of Octavius; and having now ſerved their own turns by him againſt Antony, declared their public diſlike and jealouſy of Octavius; Caſſius, Brutus, and the Pompeyan party were the great favorites of the ſenate.

In the ſame year Lepidus, maſter of the horſe to Octavius, having received Antony, a declared enemy, was alſo, by the ſenate, declared an enemy to the commonwealth of Rome: ſo that now Octavius, though not a declared enemy, yet began to be either ſuſpected or neglected; and Antony and Lepidus declared enemies.

This was that time mentioned in the life of Atticus, wherein the condition of Antony was eſteemed deſperate, and he invaded by his friends as well as his enemies; when yet Atticus ſtood by his relations, and protected them againſt injuries.

The caſe thus ſtanding with theſe three great men, Antony and Lepidus ſolicited Octavius to fall in with them, otherwiſe he might look for the ſame ill ſucceſs from the ſenate that they had themſelves found; and that as now he began to be neglected, ſo in a ſhort time he would be oppreſſed by the Pompeian party Hereupon in the ſame year, Octavius, Antony, and Lepidus entered into

into a confederacy, to eſtabliſh in themſelves a triumvirate, to laſt for five years, with conſular power, and the diſpoſal of provinces amongſt themſelves as they thought good.

This being thus agreed between them, before the ſame was known to the ſenate, Octavius being willing to have a fair occaſion to break with the ſenate, demanded a kindneſs, which he was ſure they would refuſe, namely, the conſulate; wherein he was rejected. and ſo had a fair occaſion to fall off from them, who formerly and now had ſo much neglected aud affronted him.

Thereupon, Octavius, Antony, and Lepidus joined their forces, declared their purpoſe to reform the commonwealth under the triumvirate of them three, and march with their full power to Rome; which they enter and obtain; and in purſuance of their former counſel and purpoſe, diſpoſe of provinces, create conſuls; ſome of thoſe that oppoſed them they proſcribed, others they killed; amongſt whom was Marcus Tullius Cicero, the great friend of Atticus, and the bitter enemy of Antony.

This was that ſeaſon wherein Atticus being now about 66 years old, began to fear proſcription at leaſt; but was delivered from that fear by the clemency of Antony, namely, in the year of the Julian period 4671.

Caſſius and Brutus, that were formerly deſigned to manage the war againſt Antony, accordingly purſued the ſame againſt the triumviri.

But they were overthrown at the battle of Philippi, where Brutus was ſlain; and now the triumviri held the entire government of the Roman empire, all opponents being cut off or diſabled.

Shortly after, by the imprudence of Fulvia, the wife of Antony, a difference was raiſed between Octavius and Antony; but that was ſoon compoſed by a diviſion of the Roman empire between them: the Eaſtern part aſſigned to Antony, and the Weſtern to Octavius; and they entered triumphantly into Rome, and ratified their agreement by new alliance, Antony marrying the ſiſter of Octavius.

In the 4676th year of the Julian period, the five years appointed to their triumvirate, expired, and they prorogued their power for other five years.

In the year following, Sextus Pompeius being overthrown by Octavius, Lepidus began to arrogate the honour of that victory, and began openly to oppoſe his colleague Octavius; but his army forſaking him, he reſigned up his office of triumvir, and upon his ſubmiſſion and importunity,

importunity, Octavius pardoned his life, but exiled him. And now there were only Antonius and Octavius in the exercise of that triumviral power.

In the same year, Octavius being 28 years old, returned to Rome in triumph, where the senate decreed unto him the honour and office of perpetual *tribunus populi.*

About the beginning of the year of the Julian period 4682, Enobarbus and Sosius consuls (which was the year wherein Atticus died) new differences began to arise between Antonius and Octavius. The consuls and part of the senate fly to Antony, who in testimony of his defiance of Octavius, repudiates his wife Octavia, the sister of Octavius, and open war was declared between Octavius and Antonius. This ended the next year in the victory of Octavius against Antonius at Actium, and shortly after in the taking of Alexandria by Octavius, and the death of Antonius, and Cleopatra the Egyptian queen.

4685. Thus was Octavius now settled in the empire of Rome, honoured by the senate with the style of Augustus and Imperator, namely, in his fifth consulate, and in the year of the Julian period 4685.

And thus we have a short account of the state and seasons of those great motions and civil wars that happened in the Roman commonwealth, during the life of Atticus. Unto all which, we must add these ensuing considerations, which will much evidence the greatness of those concussions and difficulties that accompanied these various revolutions; namely,

1. There were not any of these changes effected without very great and bloody wars between the several heads of these factions and their parties; the changes were not easy or familiar transitions from one faction to another; but they were effected for the most part by great and formidable armies and battles, and effusion of blood.

2. These battles that were preliminary to the victory of either party, were not slight velitations and conflicts, but they were carried on with greater vehemency, violence, fury, and blood, than many of their wars with foreigners; each party engaging as many to their faction as they could; and each party carried on with this expectation, to be the possessor of the other's honours and wealth, if they prevailed; and being assured of utter ruin from the prevailing party if conquered by them.

3. The success of these battles was always with greatest ruin of the subdued party that the victors could inflict.

It

It is truly noted by the Florentine politician, that the Romans, when victors over their neighbouring nations, never uſed mediocrity or a mean towards thoſe they conquered; but either uſed ſo great beneficence or favour towards the conquered, that they thereby obliged them from a future revolt; or elſe dealt ſo ſeverely with them, that they utterly diſabled them from it. But though in the victory over the foreigners, the Romans, according to the various temper of thoſe they conquered, uſed ſometimes the one extreme, ſometimes the other; yet in thoſe victories that happened between the Romans themſelves in their civil wars, as they never uſed mediocrity, ſo they never uſed the former extreme, but always the latter; omitting no ſeverity that might render the ſubdued party, in all probability, incapable of ever making head again. And this they evidenced in their bloody ſlaughters that they made after their victories obtained; confiſcations and proſcriptions were their gentleſt animadverſions, not only upon ſuch as had been oppoſites, but alſo upon ſuch as they ſuſpected not to be their real friends. If any were that had ſtood neutral, and aſſiſted neither party, for the moſt part his wealth became his crime, and rendered him obnoxious to confiſcation or baniſhment, or at leaſt to exceſſive mulcts and penalties, to help to gratify and reward the ſoldiers and aſſiſtants of the victor, and to ſtrengthen and oblige his party. Indeed, Octav. Auguſtus, when he had ſubdued Antonius, was moderate towards the ſubdued party; and he had reaſon, becauſe he then obtained the full maſtery of all parties and made them his own; and beſides his own nature rendered him generally benign and favourable to ſuch of his enemies who were not implacable. But in theſe revolutions of ſucceſſes between Marius and Sylla, Cæſar and Pompey, Brutus and Antonius, their ſeverities were horrid and violent, inſomuch, that the very friends and relations of the oppreſſed party, though they never acted any thing againſt the victor; yet to ſecure themſelves againſt the rage and jealouſy of the prevailing faction, became the perſecutors and betrayers of thoſe that were ſubdued, as is before declared in the life of Atticus: upon all which conſiderations it ſeems little leſs than a miracle, that Atticus, a rich and wealthy and honourable citizen, of great acquaintance and relations, of great eſteem, ſhould live in the midſt of all theſe flames and ſtorms, and for the moſt time in that great city which was the ſtage on which the greateſt and ſevereſt part

part of thoſe bloody and terrible tragedies were in earneſt acted, and yet retain his wealth, honour, and innocence, and an awful eſteem and reſpect from all parties. But of this, and the ſeveral honeſt methods whereby he preſerved himſelf, his wealth, and honour, together with his innocence and eſteem, more ſhall be ſaid in its due place. In the mean time I ſhall, in the next chapter, make a ſhort digreſſion to ſhew the nature and reaſons of theſe great factions in the Roman empire.

CHAP. II.

TOUCHING FACTIONS IN GENERAL, AND THE REASONS OF THESE GREAT FACTIONS IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE, AND WHY THEY HAPPENED MORE AT THIS TIME THAN FOR MANY HUNDREDS OF YEARS BEFORE.

THE Roman ſtate, in its firſt inſtitution, ſeemed to be principally monarchical, yet aided with a ſenate, conſiſting at firſt of one hundred, and afterwards of three hundred perſons, called *patres* or *patricii*. After the expulſion of their kings they fell into a commonwealth, conſiſting of their ſenate, and two conſuls yearly elected, who had a power in ſome things regal. Afterwards, there growing conteſts between the conſuls and patricii, of the one part, and the reſt of the people, of the other part, the conſtitution of their commonwealth was much altered by the admiſſion of a popular power of the tribunes elected by the people; ſo that now their commonwealth began to be mixed, partly of an ariſtocracy, reſiding in the ſenate, and ſomewhat analogical to a qualified and elective monarchy, reſiding in the conſuls, and ſomewhat of a democracy, reſiding in the *tribunitia poteſtas*, in the tribunes elective by the people.

Thus this mixed republic grew great and powerful, and continued many years in great ſtrength and peace, only ſometimes there aroſe jars and conteſts between the power of the ſenate and people, which nevertheleſs ſeldom broke out into wars, but ſometimes by the prudent intervention of ſome wiſe ſenators in credit among the people, ſometimes by ſeaſonable conceſſions from the ſenate to them, ſometimes by the occurrence of ſome foreign war, theſe differ-

had, than if they were without any ſuch authority; becauſe they herein act beyond the bounds, and without the warrant of that authority, and conſequently as private perſons.

4. When two or more great and eminent perſons or parties, and it may be of a conſiderable intereſt in a ſtate or government, engage one againſt another, at firſt, it may be privately, and as opportunity grows, it may be, more openly and viſibly croſſing each other, accuſing publicly each other; each ſoliciting others to be of their party; at length uſing diſcriminations of denominations, or habits or ſigns, and poſſibly in a little time public affronts and rencounters, and at laſt it may be open hoſtility; and all this while the true real governors of that ſtate, whether monarch or ſenate, ſit ſtill and look on, it may be out of fear of being oppreſſed by the power of both or either party; it may be out of reſpect to ſome of the heads of either party; it may be out of policy, to ſuffer either party to worry and weaken and ruin one another, hoping thereby to preſerve the government; or it may be out of a weak and tame, and inconſiderate opinion, contenting themſelves with the name or external face, title and enſigns of government, and the profeſſed reſpects of either party, but not daring to interpoſe any acts of real authority to ſuppreſs or remedy thoſe growing miſchiefs, fearing they ſhould not be able to carry it through in reſpect of the potency of parties; and ſo the true governors ſtand by and look on, contenting themſelves with the compliments and profeſſion of ſubjection by both parties, till at laſt one party getting the better of the other, lays by the diſguiſe of pretended ſubjection, and gives the law to his lawful governors, and makes them do what he pleaſes, or ſuffer what it inflicts. And this commonly is the miſchief that attends a government that out of any the beforementioned reſpects, ſuffer factions to grow ſo great that at laſt they become maſterleſs, and either by conjunction of both parties, or prevalence of one, give the law to their lawful governors.

5. When ſome particular perſons that are or are not in any authority in a ſtate or commonwealth, deſign ſome matter either for themſelves or againſt any other, and to effect that deſign, do by ſecret means or power, or fraud, or otherwiſe, draw over the power of that ſtate wherein they live, to be their engines and inſtruments under the countenance and ſignature of their authority, to effect their deſign.

For though the authority of the ſtate is engaged therein, yet

yet that being obtained by the force, fraud or evil engine, and to ſerve the particular intereſt or end of a party, and not acting according to the true and native freedom and integrity of their inſtitution, excuſeth not this from being really a faction, though ſometimes it be ſpeciouſly gilded over with the countenance of public authority: for inſtance, ſuppoſe Marius and Sylla, two great leading men in Rome, had a jealouſy and animoſity one againſt the other, and Marius deſires that Sylla be deprived of the province allotted to him, and that it be conferred on him: on the other ſide, perchance Sylla hath the like deſign againſt Marius; Marius ſolicits, by bribes or menaces, as many of the ſenate as he can prevail with, to take his part, and Sylla doth the like for his part: the ſenate is near divided: Sylla procures ſome of the ſenators of Marius' part to be ſent away about ſome other employments, and thereby Marius is over-voted and deprived of his province; then Marius makes in with the tribunes, ſolicits the people to be of his party, and a tumult is thereby raiſed in the behalf of Marius, and thereby, and by thoſe friends of Marius that are of the ſenate, the former decree is repealed, and then Marius is reſtored to his own province, and alſo obtains Sylla's province.

The next day, Sylla, who is potent in the army, complains of the wrong done him, and engageth the army for him; whereby again both tribunes and ſenate are overpowered; and the ſenators of Marius' part withdraw themſelves for fear of the army, and now Sylla carries it both with the tribunes and ſenate, and re-obtains his own and Marius' province, and perchance Marius ſent into exile, though here be the concurrence of the governors in theſe viciſſitudes.

Yet theſe are nevertheleſs but ſeveral factions. And this was moſt commonly the diſcipline of the ſeveral factions of Rome; or if they that could get to have more intereſt or power with the people, or with the army, or could make the more bold and daring part of the ſenate, though leſs in number, to over-rule the greater part; or if they were exceſſively loved, or exceſſively feared, or were ſubtle and crafty, to fit either the people or the ſenate to their deſigns, theſe were ſure to have a countenance of authority quickly for what they did; ſo that in the viciſſitudes of factions, and of their prevalence, they never wanted a *Senatus-conſultum*, or a *Plebiſcitum* to warrant whatſoever they did. And in the mean time, the favourers of the adverſe party,

for fear, or by-ends, withdrawing themſelves from the ſenate or aſſemblies; and then the others did what they pleaſed in favour of their own party. And when it came to the turn of the other party to be uppermoſt, the ſame method was commonly held; the friends of the depreſſed withdrawing themſelves, or ſitting ſilent, or changing their ſuffrages, and then all went ſmoothly the other way: whereby it came to paſs, that as Sylla, at his return, wanted not the decree of the ſenate to juſtify all his murders and proſcriptions, ſo Marius, at his return, wanted not the like for his murders and proſcriptions, of the party of Sylla; and the ſame viciſſitudes obtained between Cæſar and Pompey, Brutus and Antonius, Antonius and Octavius; and for the moſt part, the factions of Rome, whereof I have written, were of this latter kind, and managed under the ſhadow and umbrage of the civil authority, though in their original they aroſe from the pride and ambition, envy and emulations, jealouſies and deſigns, diſguſts and animoſities of particular perſons, who could not brook any whom they ſuſpected might be rivals of their greatneſs, honour, or power. And theſe prevailing, bore down the magiſtracy of Rome before them; and yet ſooner or later gilded all their exorbitances under the ſtamp, ſignature, and countenance of the authority of the eſtabliſhed governors.

Now though it may be true that theſe decrees of the authority eſtabliſhed by law, though by this means obtained, are binding, while they ſtand in force; yet the manner of obtaining ſuch decrees by theſe and the like means, are unjuſt and factious, and in true intrinſic juſtice do not excuſe or juſtify the obtainers thereof from oppreſſion and injuſtice, though they may poſſibly, for the time, be contemporary protections of them, when they continue unrepeated or unavoided.

Now a few words touching the ſecond, namely, the reaſons why theſe civil wars broke out more abundantly and violently at this time than formerly.

It is true, that the very conſtitution and make of ſuch a government as Rome had, being partly ariſtocratical, and partly popular, and with ſome ſhadow of monarchical power in the conſuls, renders ſuch a ſtate very powerful in relation to foreign undertakings and wars; for foreign engagements do concenter and unite a people, and the fabric of ſuch a ſtate renders their power united againſt a foreign power, and conſequently more forcible, formidable, and for the moſt part ſucceſsful, the weight of the whole body moving together in ſuch foreign enterprizes: but, on the

other

other ſide, theſe forms of governments have this diſeaſe natural to them, that they are unquiet, and full of factions among themſelves, eſpecially when they have no foreign diverſions.

Great bodies, they move ſlowly, yet move they muſt; and if the mill have not corn to grind, the upper and nether milſtone will grind each other. If we ſhould ſuppoſe the ſupreme government had been only ariſtocratical, by a ſenate, conſiſting of three hundred perſons, reaſon and experience ſhew that factions are apt to riſe even in ſuch a council: much more when the common people were ſharers alſo in the government.

For firſt, commonly in ſuch great aſſemblies, ſome particular perſons are the leading men, who think themſelves entitled by their parts, or reputation, or intereſt, to govern the councils, and that raiſeth envy and emulations in others, who think they have as much reaſon to ſway in ſupreme councils as others; which preſently engageth that council in parties and factions.

Again, 2. It is commonly ſeen in ſuch numerous councils where they are ſupreme and abſolute, ſome there are that drive on their particular intereſts, offices, and advancement of their families and relations; and becauſe others among them, have the ſame deſigns for themſelves, which muſt needs croſs and diſappoint one another, every one gathers and engageth as many as they can, to carry on their own deſigns; which preſently engageth either the whole council, or very conſiderable numbers thereof into parties and factions: upon theſe, and many the like emergencies, where the ſupreme government reſts in many, it is hardly poſſible to avoid breaking themſelves into parties or factions; unleſs ſome one ſupreme governor be to check and control, and diſperſe theſe factions; or unleſs ſome foreign emergency happen, that may concenter them in a common union againſt a common enemy: but beſides all this, the mixture of the Roman governors, conſiſting partly of the Patricii, optimates of nobility, and partly of the people and their tribunes who were their delegates, between which the ſovereign power was in many things diſtributed and divided, did ſtill adminiſter occaſion of conteſt and difference, and gave opportunity to buſy and unquiet and diſcontented ſpirits, to intereſt themſelves with the ſenate againſt the people, or *é converſo*; but eſpecially with the popular party, and by ſecret ſuggeſtions or inſinuations, or by open declamations or orations to create diſturbances in the ſtate; a co-ordinate power in

ſeveral parties, councils, or offices, rarely reſting quiet till ſome one perſon or party hath gotten the maſtery of the reſt; as appears among many inſtances in that of the Roman triumvirate of Octavius, Antonius, and Lepidus; wherein, firſt Lepidus, and then Antonius were reduced into the ſingle power of Octavius, together with the empire: and beſides the conſtitution of their commonwealth, partly conſiſting in the authority of their conſuls, partly in the ſenate, partly in the people and their tribunes, there was yet a fourth fountain of continual commotions, namely, their ſtanding army: if any of the conſuls, that were annually choſen, was of a tumultuous or ambitious nature, and it may be of too great a ſpirit for his companion, or not willing to be diſpoſſeſſed of his power at his year's end, and his preſent power in the army, gave him opportunity to ſatisfy his ambition: if a man were of a great wit, intereſt and elocution, he had a great opportunity of leading the ſenate, or the greater number of them, whither he pleaſed, unleſs he had ſome antagoniſt of equal wit, intereſt, and elocution, and then their colliſion begat emulation and contrary factions. Again, a man that was bold and confident, and a great aſſertor of liberty, that could make plauſible invectives againſt the ſenate or nobility, and could cry up the intereſt of the people, that could find faults with the adminiſtrations of the ſenate, or could ſet up ſome popular law (as that of the Lex Agraria, which bred ſo many tumults in that ſtate) ſuch a man had an admirable opportunity to work tumults and factions among the people. Again, if a man that were an officer in the army (as the conſuls, the *magiſter equitum* was) and were eſteemed a gallant man, a man of courage, reſolution and conduct in the army; a man ſucceſsful and fortunate, liberal, and of a good preſence and elocution; ſuch a man had a great powr and influence over the army, could lead them as he pleaſed, make what alterations, innovations he pleaſed by them in the commonwealth; ſo that the ſtate of Rome, as they could not live without a ſtanding army, conſidering their military condition, ſo they were in danger by them, if they had the leaſt intermiſſion from foreign wars; that their magiſtrates, ſenate, people, army, were as ſo many common places and topics, in or from which, men of unquiet, ambitious and turbulent ſpirits, had opportunitiss to create or nouriſh factions and parties, which muſt neceſſarily in time, either by their mutual colliſions, or the prevailing ſucceſs of either, make great changes, or ſtrange earthquakes and concuſſions in the ſtate.

Certainly

Certainly the Roman ſenate were a noble council, without which Rome could never have riſen to that grandeur; yet they being ſupreme and numerous, could never [illegible] free from factions; much leſs when the tribunes of the people, and the great officers of the army, had ſuch a ſhare in the government.

But theſe are but generals; there ſeem certain ſpecial reaſons that occaſioned theſe great and continuing factions and civil broils in the ſtate of Rome at this time, beſides that general habitude and propenſity to factions, ariſing from the frame and conſtitution of their governors, when they had no foreign enemies; which ſeem to be principally theſe:

1. The commonwealth of Rome about that time, and ſhortly after that under Sylla, after their victory over the confederates of Italy, had gotten the maſtery of all their neighbouring nations, that they ſeemed to have little left for them to do in military engagements, and therefore being a buſy, active people, they were ſtill reſtleſs, and for want of enemies abroad, they were (by the reſtleſſneſs of their active ſouls, acuſtomed to wars) carried on to exerciſe their fervour and fire one among another: and the wiſer part of the council eaſily found that this would be the neceſſary conſequence of their peace with others; and therefore although they had ſubdued all their near neighbours, and had little neceſſity of any foreign wars, yet they ſought occaſions for the diverſion of this unquiet humour, by ſending abroad their armies to remote countries, as Gallia and Britain, and Spain, and the farther parts of Aſia, in their unneceſſary war againſt Mithridates; uſing that means to keep things quiet at home, by employing their fiery, active ſpirits in remote actions, dealing by their armies, and military, ambitious men, as they ſay, conjurers do with the unquiet ſpirits that they have raiſed, ſet them about ſome impoſſible or difficult employment; as, filling a ſieve with water, or making a rope of ſand, that they may not do miſchief. So the Roman councils, to keep reſtleſs, ambitious, and troubleſome perſons in motion and action, though they had many times little need or reaſon for it, fought enemies at a diſtance, or made them ſuch, that they might divert by revulſion thoſe other inconveniencies that otherwiſe they might find from them at home. But now when theſe great broils fell out, namely, after the 6th conſulate of Marius, they had in effect, ſubdued all opponents; and although Sylla was employed then in the war againſt Mithridates, yet he did but play with it, and protracted the

war, which he at his pleaſure could have ſooner concluded; as appears by the peace he made with him at laſt. This ſeems therefore the firſt reaſon of the eruption of theſe inteſtine wars at this time; becauſe the Roman power had maſtered all their neighbouring nations, and reduced them into a perfect ſubjection, or into ſuch a kind of aſſociation with them, as ſtill left the Roman ſtate the ſupreme over them. And theſe wars they then had, were not ſuch as were neceſſary, nor near, but ſuch as were at a diſtance, and undertaken either politically, for the end above declared, or at leaſt ambitiouſly, and to augment their grandeur, not out of any other neceſſity.

2. The ſecond cauſe or reaſon ſeems to be this: they at firſt gave too much heed, and too much power to ambitious and intemperate ſpirits; which thereupon radicated a faction, and habituated great ſpirits to the ſame. Marius was a high-ſpirited and factious man, and the commonwealth indulged him too much, and too often in great commands and great offices. He was ſix times choſen conſul, and once he made himſelf ſo; and by this means he accuſtomed and habituated many of the grandees of Rome to the knack, and practice, and ſkill of managing a faction; and when Sylla was ſet up againſt him, he grew a great favourite, truſted with great power, oftentimes made conſul, and at laſt dictator; and under his diſcipline, thoſe of his party got the trick of managing a faction, and taſted the ſweetneſs of power, and could never be perfectly weaned from it. The like might be inſtanced in Pompey, Cæſar, Antonius, Brutus, Octavius, &c. For theſe men were lifted up ſo high by the great and over-long truſt, and power, and offices, and commands that were committed to them, that in a little time they grew too big for the commonwealth; and although the ſenate and people bore the name of a commonwealth, yet in truth they were but cyphers, and did no more than what theſe great men, while they were in power, and had the army at their command, did either command, or direct, or permit. And theſe great commanders and officers, though they pretended an inferiority to the commonwealth, and that they were but their ſervants, yet in truth thoſe were but compliments; for in their ſeveral viciſſitudes of power, they exerciſed as great and greater monarchical, or rather tyrannical power, than ever Octavius did after he was ſaluted by the name and ſtyle of Auguſtus. And by this means the generality of great ſpirits in Rome were taught to deſpiſe the former regular

gular conduct of the commonwealth of Rome, and aſpired after greater matters, initiated and liſted themſelves under factions, learned the art and ſkill of them, deſigned to themſelves as much greatneſs as they had ſeen acquired by thoſe grandees to whom they had joined themſelves, and were not patient of being any longer under the commands of the ſenate, but were filled with ſpirits, and habits, and deſigns, not conſiſtent with a commonwealth; and accordingly as opportunity happened, they broke out into new inteſtine commotions; whereas the former diſcipline of the commonwealth of Rome was not to make men too great, or if neceſſity exacted it of them, as when they created dictators, in time of deſperate danger or neceſſity, they continued it not longer than the neceſſity laſted: By this means men were not very long in great power or offices, and thereby were kept from growing too great.

Factions growing by them, or under their umbrage, had not time enough to ferment or take root, or grow ſtrong; but a ſubſtitution of new men in office and power, ſoon ſuppreſſed, or ſcattered, or ſtarved the budding factions before they grew too maſterleſs. And men that were naturally high-ſpirited or ambitious, or fond of power or greatneſs, had thereby diſcouragement or interruption in their projects, and the generality tutored into obedience and quietneſs, having no examples of ſucceſsful factions: and by this great moderation and reſtraint of too great or too long power in any, they prevented that envy and animoſity which is naturally apt to riſe in or againſt men in a commonwealth, that are grown too great or too powerful: but on the contrary, the courſe that about Marius' time was uſed in Rome, gave neceſſary occaſions of the growth and turbulency of factions by theſe three neceſſary conſequents thereof:

1. He that was thus raiſed to too great and long a domination, was neceſſitated to maintain a faction to ſupport and keep him in that ſtate of grandeur to which he arrived.

2. That the accuſtomed grandeur of any one perſon did as naturally raiſe envy in others againſt him, and conſequently the raiſing of faction againſt him to ſuppreſs or reduce him to a lower condition.

3. It ſuddenly inſtructed men in the methods of raiſing factions, and accuſtomed men with a kind of facility and dexterity in managing of them, and invited them to the

frequent uſe of theſe practices, by the ſweetneſs of power, and the ſucceſs of others that had prevailed by them.

3. The third occaſion of the multiplied factions that happened in Rome, after the dance began by Marius, was that very thing which was ordinarily uſed for the ſuppreſſing them; namely, the violence, rage, and revenge that was uſed by that faction that prevailed againſt the faction that was ſubdued.

For inſtance, when Marius was uppermoſt, he uſed all manner of ſeverity againſt Sylla's party that oppoſed him. Again, when Sylla prevailed, he uſed the like ſeverity againſt the party of Marius. The like was done again by Marius and Cinna, and their party. Thus like fooliſh paſſengers in a boat, when the waves roll, and the boat tilts to one ſide, they run on the other, and make it tilt worſe; and then run again to the other ſide, till they endanger the caſting away of the veſſel and themſelves.

Thus theſe great heads of factions, and their parties, by the violent and outrageous dealing with the depreſſed party, endeavouring thereby to ſecure and eſtabliſh themſelves in the free enjoyment of their acquired victory and greatneſs, and utterly to diſable the adverſe party ever to appear again in power, did obtain a quite contrary effect, and ſuddenly ruin themſelves, and by their violence give life to that party they thus endeavour by theſe means to extinguiſh: and thus it muſt neceſſarily be, and in experience hath been commonly found to be; and the reaſons of it are theſe:

1. Theſe exceſſive ſeverities do raiſe in the generality of mankind theſe two paſſions, which do moſt ordinarily bring to paſs that which I have ſaid; namely, a loathing and deteſtation of that cruelty and inhumanity, and of that party that practiſeth it; and a pity and compaſſion towards their fellow-citizens, whom they ſee thus cruelly handled; and that hatred doth moſt commonly waſte, and in time ruin the conquering party; and this pity doth ſecretly animate, aſſiſt, and buoy up the depreſſed party, and oftentimes give it life, when it ſeems extinguiſhed and dead.

2. Theſe exceſſive ſeverities can never wholly extirpate all thoſe that are of the adverſe party; ſome will remain, do what they can: and if they would wholly extirpate every perſon that ever appeared againſt them, yet it will be impoſſible to extirpate all their relations or acquaintances, unleſs they ſhould wholly diſpeople their country of all but themſelves.

There

There is not a perſon that they murder, but it may be hath twenty others under ſome relation or other unto the perſon murdered, either as a father, or ſon, or brother, or kindred, or friend, or dependant. And the more of the adverſe party they deſtroy, the more relations they leave that ſurvive them. And ſo many of the adverſe and ſuppreſſed party as are of their relations, that ſurvive, will bear in mind the remembrance of that cruelty, and harbour a ſecret and violent paſſion of revenge againſt it; and this paſſion, as it is fierce, cruel, and implacable, ſo it is vigilant and induſtrious to gain an opportunity to ſatisfy itſelf. And this was it that principally cauſed that villainy againſt Cæſar, and the endangering of all thoſe that adhered to him. It was not altogether the jealouſy they had of the greatneſs of Cæſar, the fear of his invading the empire; but it was the memory of Pharſalia, and the death of Pompey, and thoſe ſeverities which he uſed againſt that party (though he were not immoderate therein after the battle ended). The love and memory of Pompey, and his party that ſurvived him in his friends and relations, and the ſpirit of revenge that they had long harboured, was that which made, and united, and fortified the conſpiracy againſt Cæſar. And poſſibly the death of Antonius, and the deſtruction of his party, by Octavius Cæſar, might have produced as unhappy effects, had not the experience of Octavius Cæſar, and his ſingular prudence and moderation, and his deſerved eſteem in the Roman empire, conquered as well the revenge and envy of the relations of Antonius' party. Thus theſe ſeverities of prevailing parties too oftentimes perpetuate and unite their enemies, inſtead of extirpating and extinguiſhing them.

It is true that the lawful governors of a kingdom or ſtate muſt neceſſarily ſometimes uſe great ſeverities upon rebels and diſturbers of the government; and this is neceſſary as well by way of juſt retribution of great demerits, but principally for example, and ſo prevent others from the like exorbitances, *ut pœna ad paucos, metus ad omnes*; rewards and puniſhments being as well the two great pillars that ſupport governm nt, as the two great wheels that keep it in a regular and orderly motion.

But yet there is great prudence and moderation to be uſed therein, as well in reference to the kinds and degrees of the puniſhments, as in the extent of them; for if they be too inhuman and barbarous, or be extended to all the perſons that are offenders (when the number of them poſ-

ſibly

ſibly is very great) it may prove like phyſic that is too ſtrong for the bodies, and brings many times greater danger than the diſeaſe it deſigns to cure.

But the caſe of thoſe factions in Rome, was not like that of the civil magiſtrate in puniſhing malefactors in a ſtate; but it was the paſſions and animoſities of one faction or party againſt another, and therefore ſuch horrid and extenſive ſeveritics that they uſed one againſt another, rendered their ſeverities, and the extent of them, as inexcuſable, ſo in the event, dangerous and unſucceſsful to thoſe that uſed them: the reaſon above given.

4. The fourth, and indeed the great cauſe of theſe commotions at this time, and for ſo long a continuance, was this: ſtates and commonwealths have certain periods of their duration and conſiſtency appointed them in the ordinary methods of Divine Providence; and ſometimes thoſe periods determine in a final deſolation or exciſion: Thus the commonwealth of Carthage was finally deſtroyed by the Roman. Sometimes this period doth not expire in a deſolation, but in ſome great change and alteration in it: and if the compages and fabric of the commonwealth be ſtrong and firm, the change is more difficult; it hath a ſtrong and great ſtruggling before that change can be effected; and preparatory to the effecting thereof, there are ordinarily great aſpiring attempts endeavoured by great ſpirits; concuſſions and ſhakings antecedent and preliminary to it, as if the very complexion and temperature of the great and more regnant ſpirits in it, were tending to ſome ſuch change. And thus it fared with the ſtate of Rome at this time; the period of its former ariſtocratical and popular government was within ſixty years of its end, and a new and better ſhape of government to be aſſumed. And now all the great and active ſpirits in Rome ſeem to be reaching after a monarchical or imperial government; as firſt, Marius, then Sylla, then Pompey, then Cæſar, then Antonius, then Auguſtus: and although all theſe were not able to acquire the full accompliſhment of it, yet every one of theſe drew nearer to imperial power than the other; Sylla's power grew greater than Marius's; Pompey's than Sylla's; Cæſar's than Pompey's; till at laſt it fixed and was completed in Octavius Auguſtus.

And all theſe were ſo many indications that now at this time the genius of the Roman republic, or rather more truly, the genius, the diſpoſition, temperament and complexion of the Roman ſtate, was drawing towards, and breathing

breathing after a monarchy, as that which was now the moſt ſuitable government for it; and that theſe ſeveral earthquakes, raiſed by theſe fiery ſpirits, were but as ſo many ſtrokes of a ſkilful ſtatuary, to bring the Roman commonwealth into the more ſtately ſtatue and configuration of an imperial government, which ſeemed now not only to be the complement and perfect growth and ſtature of the Roman ſtate, but that which was abſolutely neceſſary to preſerve it from ruin by civil diſſentions, and to preſerve its grandeur; ſo that as the ſtate and condition of the natural body arrives from a more imperfect degree, to a more perfect, and paſſeth through various changes, till its complement and perfection, and then gradually declines; ſo the Roman ſtate paſſed through theſe various forms, which in its ſeveral ſeaſons were ſuitable to it, till it came to its goodly and complete ſtation, whereunto it attained under Auguſtus. And theſe various concuſſions and ſhakings that it had in thoſe ſixty years before Auguſtus, were but the preparatory endeavours, and ſtrugglings, and tendencies of the ſpirit and genius of the Roman ſtate, that tended to it, and the ſtrokes and hammerings that were neceſſary for its effecting; and therefore this was the periodical ſeaſon for theſe attempts and preparations to a change. And thus far (by the way) of the reaſons that might probably occaſion theſe civil broils in the Roman commonwealth at this ſeaſon more than formerly.

CHAP. III.

CONCERNING THE METHODS THAT ORDINARILY PERSONS USE TO SECURE THEMSELVES IN THE VICISSITUDES OF PREVAILING FACTIONS.

We have found Rome in the whole compaſs of the life of Pomponius, to be a theatre of great and tragical commotions, full of unquietneſs and danger, and of various viciſſitudes; ſometimes one faction prevailing, and ſometimes the contrary faction being uppermoſt; and then again the former returning; whereby the ſcene was oftentimes varied. And now I ſhall briefly conſider of thoſe methods that commonly perſons uſe, and in that ſeaſon did uſe for their ſecurity and ſafety, and the errors and ineffectualneſs thereof, to the ends here propoſed, that thereby the prudence and wiſdom of Atticus, and the ſingular diſcretion of thoſe means

which

which he uſed for his own ſecurity, may the more clearly appear. The means that ordinarily men chooſe in ſuch unquiet ſtates, are for the moſt part ſuch as theſe:

1. They commonly ſtrike in with that party or faction that is in preſent power, and join with it, and commit their fortunes into the ſame veſſel with it; the imprudence whereof is apparent in this, that they venture all in the conſtancy of the ſucceſs of that party or faction which they eſpouſe.

And conſequently, if they prevail not, or happen to receive at any time a ſhock, they are ruined with them, or at leaſt eſcape that ruin with infinite difficulties. And herein is apparent their want of due conſideration of the ſtate of things of this nature. They judge according to the preſent face, and ſhow, and appearance, and do not conſider that truth which reaſon and experience makes evident and common; namely, that factions in a ſtate never long hold their ground; but if they are not ſuppreſſed by the natural power of the ſtate wherein they ariſe, yet by the ſame or like means, whereby at any time they obtain, they are commonly broken and diſſolved; and by the ſame artifices whereby they gain the ſaddle, they are commonly unhorſed, either by the adverſe party, or by ſome diſtemper riſing in their own party, which is equally miſchievous to them. The game being ordinarily thus managed, that when one faction hath ſuppreſſed another, the victorious party fall into diviſions among themſelves; ſome thinking they have too ſmall a ſhare in the acqueſt, and others too much, and ſo weaken their party, and render it leſs and narrower; and then commonly one of the ſubdivided party, that finds itſelf weakeſt, falls in with the remainders and reliques of the firſt party, and ſo oppreſs that ſubdivided party that laſt obtained; whereby it comes to paſs, that if the perſon that fell in at firſt with the prevailing party, takes that ſubdivided party that ſeems prevalent, he ſuffers ruin with them; and if it be his lot to fall in again with the weaker ſubdivided party, and ſo join with the old ſuppreſſed party, yet his former oppreſſion is remembered, and he is never truſted; and commonly as the old party gets advantage and power, he is expoſed to infamy, contempt, or loſs. But be the ſucceſs what it will be, he is ever in an uncertain, unſtable and tumultuous condition, and ſtill put upon neceſſities of new devices, ſhifts, and contrivances to ſave his ſtake; whereby he never can enjoy true tranquillity either of life or mind.

2. Another expedient that men uſe to ſave themſelves, is ever to be of the prevailing faction by all methods and artifices

fices imaginable; and as the parties change in their ſucceſſes, ſo to fall to them or from them; and herein they have a difficult and troubleſome game to play, and they had need be their crafts-maſter, if at the firſt change they are not at a loſs; but if they keep their ground upon the firſt change, they never can weather the ſecond; for they irrecoverably loſe their credit; their tricks, and ſhuffling, and diſpoſitions will be known, and then they will be like ſtratagems in war, that can never be practiſed twice with any ſucceſs, at leaſt, by and between the ſame parties. And now theſe artifices wherein men thus ſave themſelves, are commonly flattery and diſſimulation, pretenſions of their being formerly miſled; and now their eyes are opened; profeſſions of great ſatisfaction with the proceedings of the party prevailing, and extreme indignation againſt that party which they formerly took; ſuing for opportunities to manifeſt their indignation againſt them, and hatred of them; and to gain credit with their new maſters, and give a teſtimony of their thorough converſion to them, offering their ſervice, and employing it in the bittereſt perſecutions, treacheries, and cruelties againſt thoſe that they formerly ſerved. It is obſerved in the life of Atticus, that when Antonius was declared an enemy, and Brutus and Caſſius obtained in Rome, there were none more bitter perſecutors of Antony's family, than thoſe in his proſperity had been his friends: but the folly of theſe ſycophants and followers of fortune, appears in this:

1. That though poſſibly they may ſave their ſkins by ſuch tricks, yet they never gain credit enough with their new friends to be either loved or truſted: they may uſe them for their end, but always ſecretly hate and deteſt them, as men of baſe diſpoſitions and principles, and ever ſuſpect them, as ſuch as would do the like with their new friends upon any turn of fortune.

2. Their new friends, if they employ them at all, employ them in the baſeſt offices, and ſuch as are commonly, though perchance uſeful to their occaſions, yet hateful and deteſtable to human nature, as to be aſſaſſinates, ſpies, betrayers of thoſe that were of the former party, and ſuch ſordid employments; and they dare not boggle or ſcruple at ſuch employments, nor perform them perfunctorily or ineffectually; for then they are rendered obnoxious to their new maſters, and commonly ſuffer worſe than if they had never complied. And if they go through with theſe baſe employments, they are rendered odious to all good men; and

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ed that he was more afraid than he had cauſe; for Antonius did not only give him an aſſurance of his own ſafety, but at his interceſſion, ſpared many more, that had otherwiſe been obnoxious to the danger of this revolution. In ſhort, he lived as happy and as honourable a life as could poſſibly be expected in the moſt ſerene and quiet times.

Touching the fourth of theſe, namely, the virtues of this excellent man, I have occaſion to mention them in the next chapter. And the buſineſs of all the following diſcourſe ſhall be principally employed in the third general; namely, the means and methods whereby this excellent man was preſerved in the midſt of theſe civil flames and ſtorms. And next under the Divine Providence (which ſecretly and powerfully ordereth and governeth all things and events in the world) I think the preſervation of this excellent man, may be attributed, in the firſt place, to the virtue and prudence of Atticus himſelf; and ſecondly, to the temper and conſtitution of the affairs of Rome at this time, and of the nobility and citizens thereof.

And becauſe my great deſign in all this diſcourſe is to trace out thoſe excellencies, and that prudent conduct of Atticus herein, I reſerve the firſt of theſe to the full enquiry of the enſuing chapters, and ſhall take up the ſecond conſideration, which as it was the leaſt of the conducibles to his preſervation, ſo it ſhall be but briefly handled.

There ſeems to be in the condition of affairs and citizens of Rome, theſe two expedients; that though to an ordinary perſon, they might be of little uſe in theſe calamities, yet to a man of that eminent worth and goodneſs, and deſert that was in this man, might be ſome aſſiſtance to his own prudent conduct of affairs in relation to his ſafety and preſervation.

Firſt, the experience that the Roman ſtate had gained of the mutability of things before ſuch time as Atticus returned to Rome from Athens; for he went to Athens about the time of Sylla's firſt return to Rome againſt Marius, he returned not till after Sylla's death, as it ſeems, and though that after his return, the factions and viciſſitudes thereof in Rome were great, yet I think ſcarce any hiſtory gives an account of ſo great troubles and viciſſitudes and changes in ſo ſhort a time, and between two ſingle heads of factions, as happened between Marius and Sylla. And this inſtability and viciſſitude of things gave a leſſon to enſuing factions, of ſome more moderation than appeared between thoſe two parties of Marius and Sylla; and therefore

therefore it ſeems that in conteſts between Cæſar and Pompey, there was ſomewhat more of moderation, than was between Sylla and Marius. But this was ſoon forgotten (I muſt confeſs), for the aſſaſſination of Cæſar by Pompey's party, ſoon made both parties forget moderation, as appears by the cruelty of Antonius againſt Cicero, and divers others, at his return to Rome.

This was ſomething conducible to the quiet of Atticus, namely, the experience that all parties had of the viciſſitude of fortune, taught them ſomewhat more of moderation than formerly; and men engaged in factions, were contented to keep an intereſt in ſo good and worthy a man as Atticus; though he took not part with them; becauſe they knew not how ſoon they might ſtand in need of his friendſhip, either to relieve their diſtreſſed condition, or intercede for them.

2. A ſecond conſideration relating to the great men, and chief officers, and citizens of Rome, was this, that long and great experience had given them a great obſervation and judgment of men, and their diſpoſitions and worth. Athens indeed was then the greateſt ſchool in the world for the attaining of the knowledge of learning and arts: but there was no ſchool in the world equal to Rome for the knowledge of men; for they had the beſt opportunity to have the experience of this kind, by their frequent converſe with men of all diſpoſitions, inclinations, employments, and nations, both in the reſort of foreign agents thither, and in their own negotiations and expeditions abroad, and the great variety of occaſions and actions, and occurrences of ſeveral natures. Theſe opportunities taught, eſpecially the grandees of Rome, admirably well to underſtand men as well as buſineſs.

And they found that Atticus was not only a very learned, wiſe, and excellent man (this indeed had been ſufficient to have protected him no more than it did Cicero), but that he was a man of eſteem, and well beloved by the citizens generally; and a man that really and ſincerely declined any intermeddling with any faction, did not ſtand in the way of that honour and grandeur that ambitious men looked after; that he was contented with his ſtation, affected not power nor wealth; that his beneficence was great to all, and not out of contemplation or ſtudy of parties, but as a friend to human nature and mankind in general. And upon this account they found that it was not at all their intereſt, neither did the neceſſity of their affairs engage the victori-

ous faction to bend themſelves againſt him; nay they well knew it would have been a diſreputation to their cauſe, to have oppreſſed a man of that credit and innocence that Atticus was of. And beſides, they found, that as the ſtate of all affairs was ſo mutable, that ſometimes one party, ſometimes another, was uppermoſt, ſo he was a common magazine and treaſury of goodneſs and beneficence to the neceſſities and exigencies of mankind, though he induſtriouſly declined cheriſhing or encouraging their factions and animoſities. And they prudently foreſaw a poſſibility of the change of their own condition, wherein they might ſtand in need of his beneficence hereafter; and therefore not only out of juſtice, in contemplation of his innocence, but out of prudence, in contemplation of the mutability of things, and the uſe they might have of his relief and beneficence upon a change of affairs, they did not only not oppreſs or injure him, but they endeavoured, by all offices of kindneſs and reſpect, to oblige him. And hence it was, that although the great heads of factions, when they prevailed, were ſevere to all that oppoſed them, and jealous of all that were not of their party, were ready to receive occaſions againſt them, and enriched themſelves, and gratified their aſſiſtants with the ſpoils of all ſuch as they ſuſpected: yet they would receive no accuſation againſt him, and generouſly did bear with the reliefs he gave to their enemies in diſtreſs; and interpreted it not as an adhering to the adverſe faction, but to be, as indeed it was, the fruit of his natural beneficence and goodneſs to mankind as ſuch. And therefore they were not of ſuch narrow and pitiful ſouls, to give ear to buſy informers or ſycophants againſt a man of his worth and goodneſs, as one that ſtrictly ſided with the adverſe party, or that his beneficence towards men in diſtreſs was an owning or eſpouſing of their follies and factions: for they underſtood and knew the man to be wiſe, and juſt, and peaceable, though liberal and compaſſionate to thoſe that wanted. And this was another occaſion of his ſafety, namely, the prudence and generoſity of thoſe great men, who, though by reaſon of their ſelf-love, intereſt, ambition, affectation of power, and greatneſs of ſpirit, and emulation, could brook no opponent or rival in their greatneſs; yet had ſo much wiſdom as to know men; and ſo much generoſity and nobleneſs of mind, as to value and eſteem ſuch a one who was really a common friend and benefactor to human nature. And theſe be ſome of thoſe foreign and accidental contributions to his preſervation:

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but all these are but little and inconsiderable. The great foundation of his safety (next under Divine goodness and providenc) were his own worth, virtue, goodness, prudence and wise conduct of himself and his actions, whereby he became, as the author of his life observes, *suæ ipsius fortunæ opifex*, one that moulded and shaped his own success and happiness through the whole course of his life.

And this is the business and design of the ensuing discourse, namely, to shew those excellent, wise and honest methods whereby he served the great superintendant providence of the Governor of the world, in his own preservation, and steering of his life in peace and happiness through all the storms and tempests of that troubled state of Rome, till he arrived at his rest in a good old age. And this argument I shall prosecute at large in the ensuing chapters, as the principal end of this discourse. 1. Because it may give a more distinct account of the admirable prudence and wisdom of this excellent man. 2. Because it will give a singular example, and possibly a useful instruction how a man may preserve at once himself, and his innocence, and tranquillity in difficult and tumultuous times, and steer himself between the rocks of contesting factions without shipwreck.

CHAP. V.

TOUCHING THE MEANS THAT POMPONIUS ATTICUS USED TO SAVE HIMSELF FROM THE DANGERS OF THE CIVIL WARS THAT HAPPENED IN ROME: AND FIRST, CONCERNING THE QUALITY AND CONDITION OF THE MAN HIMSELF.

THE means that this excellent man used for his preservation, were not of those low and despicable kinds that are before mentioned in the third chapter; but they were such as are honest and generous, justifiable and rational; such as consisted with innocence, worth and prudence, and accordingly proved singularly successful, as well to preserve his reputation, as his safety.

And I shall digest them under these three heads; viz.

1. What he was, and how the qualifications and condition of his person conduced to this end.

2. What he principally avoided.

3. What he principally did in order to this attainment. And in all theſe I ſhall follow that faithful deſcription of him and his life, by his contemporary Cornelius Nepos; though I ſhall perchance order and tranſpoſe the ſeveral circumſtances and paſſages in it, in ſome different order from that deſcription, ſingling out, and laying together the ſame under various heads or ſections.

For the firſt of theſe, what he was:—He was a man of deſerved veneration and eſteem wherever he lived; and that eſteem obtained not by a bare, light, popular air, but raiſed upon the firmeſt and moſt deſerving accounts, ariſing in or from himſelf, or thoſe acceſſions or contributions that were of great vicinity to himſelf; ſo that he had a kind of intrinſic propriety in the reputation he had, becauſe it was but the natural reflection of what was his own, and not from the donatives, or charity or liberality of others. By this means his honour and eſteem became fixed, ſtable, and permanent.

1. Though he were not of a Patrician race, yet he was of a generous extraction and family, derived to him by a long ſucceſſion of progenitors of the Equeſtrian degree.

2. He had a fair eſtate deſcended to him from his father, which was increaſed by the acceſſion he had from his uncle; and this he increaſed, not by great offices, or military rapine, farming of cuſtoms, or by merchandize, or by any mechanical employments, but by a prudent and generous frugality, ſavouring neither of parſimony, nor profuſeneſs.

3. He was educated in all ſorts of learning, firſt in Rome, and after at Athens, the univerſity of Greece, and of the world.

4. He had perſons of great eminency and learning, that were the companions of his education.

5. He made a great proficiency in all kinds of learning, as Greek oratory, poetry, antiquities and philoſophy; in all which he exceeded his contemporaries.

6. He was a man of exquiſite parts, of a great wit, profound judgment, admirable elocution, ſingular wiſdom and prudence.

7. All theſe he improved by uſe and experience in matters of public concernment, whereof he was a great obſerver; and though he would not meddle as a public officer; yet he much aſſiſted the commonwealth of Athens with his private advice and aſſiſtance in the buſineſſes of the commonwealth;

commonwealth; and after his return to Rome, he was looked upon as a very wise man in state affairs; insomuch, that if he would have engaged himself in public councils, he had been able probably at any time to have weighed, more than any one man, the public counsels and actions of that state.

8. He was a man of great truth, veracity and sincerity, that hated lying and flattery.

9. He was a man of singular prudence in his domestic affairs; frugal without parsimony or prodigality; his house and furniture neat and handsome, without sumptuousness; his family great, but orderly: his entertainments plentiful, without superfluity.

10. He had a great prospect into the affairs both private and public, and could at a distance foresee the events of things. Tully, that was a wise man, consulted him as his oracle; and had he followed the counsels or example of Atticus, he had escaped the violence of Antony.

11. He was a man of a large heart, liberal, bountiful, compassionate to those in want, distress, or necessity, and yet placed his bounty with that wisdom, that he avoided the suspicion of popularity, and the danger of countenancing factions or parties; and this he did by these two methods: he did what he did in this kind, openly and generously, not sneekingly, as if he was ashamed or afraid of what he did; and he did it indifferently, and without indiscrimination of parties.

12. He was a man of great affability and cheerfulness, and yet mingled with such authority and gravity, that as by the former he gained love, so by the latter he upheld his respect and reverence; that as my author tells us, it was hard to judge whether he was more feared, or reverenced, or loved. He conversed with the meanest with a handsome condescension, and yet lost nothing of his awe and due distance; and he corresponded with the greatest without adulation or flattery; with the meanest without superciliousness or insolence.

These are some of those many qualifications of this man, that rendered him acceptable to all; beloved of all, reverenced and esteemed by all; so that none would or durst do him hurt: all courted his friendship and familiarity. And by that excellent humanity and goodness, and suitableness of disposition to the true genius of human nature, he obtained a secret interest and party, as it were, in every man; for although most of mankind be transported either with passion or ambition, or self-love, or interest,

whereby they are carried out to many unruly and diſorderly actions, yet there is in every man a ſecret genius of humanity, a ſecret biaſs towards virtue and goodneſs, that a man can never ſo far forth put off and diſcharge himſelf from, but that he will ſtill retain an approbation of virtue and goodneſs, a ſecret eſteem of it, and of them that practiſe and uſe it; though mens' paſſions, and errors, and incogitancy may carry them off from the practice of it themſelves; ſo that the common biaſs and ſecret ſympathy of the human nature in all men with virtue, goodneſs and honeſty, gives an honeſt and a worthy man intereſt almoſt in the worſt of men, whereby they are before they are aware, inclined to love, reverence, and honour him, whom yet their paſſions and intereſt many times forbid to imitate And this goodneſs of Atticus was that which gave unto him a ſecret intereſt and party, as it were, in thoſe rough, great and ambitious commanders and officers, and all others of the Roman empire, that they durſt not injure him, but loved, honoured, and admired him as a man framed according to the true ſtandard of the human nature.

And as this connatural benignity of this man was the root and fountain of all thoſe excellent actions hereafter mentioned, which were thoſe other auxiliaries that procured his ſafety, ſo I do look upon that native and acquired worth, virtue, goodneſs, and congruity to human perfection, and that deſerved eſteem and honour that from thence reſulted unto him from the generality of men, to be one of the greateſt procurers of his ſecurity in troubled times. And indeed upon the bare account of his worth, wiſdom, and excellence, I do look upon him as a greater man than Sylla, or great Pompey, or Cæſar, or Antonius, or Auguſtus himſelf; for theſe great men being circled about with great armies, with horſemen and legions, with ſwords and pikes, and other inſtruments of force and cruelty, ſubdued and conquered cities, and kingdoms, and armies, and afterwards ſhattered and broke one another, and with theſe aſſiſtances ruled the ſenate, the city, the people; but this ſingle man, without either armies, or military power, or external force, without any inſtruments of terror, by his own perſonal virtue, goodneſs, and worth, commanded the love and eſteem of all, prevented injuries, conquered the conquerors, and reduced them all ſucceſſively, one after another, when they were in their greateſt ſplendor and power, to court him to ſtrive to oblige him, to pay an awful reverence to him; ſo that he was in truth greater than the greateſt of them, and better fortified and guarded againſt

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the common violences that attended thoſe times, than either Pompey or Cæſar, in the midſt of their greateſt and moſt formidable armies.

CHAP. VI.

CONCERNING THE OTHER EXPEDIENTS THAT THIS WISE MAN USED, TO AVOID THE DIFFICULTIES OF THE TIMES WHEREIN HE LIVED; AND FIRST, OF HIS TRAVELS INTO GREECE.

IN the former chapter we have ſeen Pomponius Atticus an excellent, good and virtuous man, and in great eſteem by reaſon thereof, wherever he lived, and the great ſecurity he had upon that account, of the great reverence and veneration that all men owed and paid to him: and this was the great baſis both of his ſecurity and tranquillity in troubled and factious times, and the root and ſpring of all thoſe virtuous actions and prudent management of his life, which, together with the reverence and veneration of his worth, contributed to his ſafety and happineſs of life.

Theſe actions and prudent diſpoſals I have before diſtributed, with relation to their objects, into theſe two kinds:

1. The things which he avoided.
2. The things which he did.

1. The firſt eſſay that he made, was to avoid the ſcene of the troubled eſtate of Rome, upon a wiſe foreſight of the enſuing commotions, and the difficulty for him, being young, rich, and in eſteem, to avoid, if he ſtaid in Rome, engagement in thoſe dangerous factions that were now hatching, and partly broken out; and for that purpoſe he retired with a conſiderable part of his perſonal eſtate, to Athens. And this he did principally to avoid thoſe growing ſtorms which were beginning; but yet with a fair and worthy deſign to improve himſelf in learning at Athens, which was the learneſt ſchool in the world, and the place of young reſort of gentlemen, not only of Greece, but of Rome, and other parts of the Roman empire, for their education: and the manner and occaſion of this his withdrawing from Rome, was thus:

Marius became a great man in Rome, had been now ſix times conſul, a man of an active, buſy, fierce, and imperious ſpirit, and projected great alterations in affairs to

the detriment of the ſenate and nobility of Rome; and by his often holding the magiſtracy, had gotten many active ſpirits of his party, among which was Julius Cæſar, though privately and cautiouſly, and many other gentlemen of ſpirit and fortune.

Pomponius lived all this time in Rome, being bred there in the time of Marius's power, and bred up with one of his ſons, and with divers gentlemen that could not chooſe but be devoted to the party of Marius.

In the ſixth conſulate of Marius, he began to be almoſt of man's eſtate, about eighteen years old, the ſeaſon for young gentlemen of Rome to mingle themſelves in public affairs, or to be initiated in military employment; and doubtleſs he could not chooſe but be ſolicited and importuned thereunto about that age, and could hardly avoid it without an imputation of ſluggiſhneſs and cowardice, or of being no friend to the preſent ſtate of Rome; and the rather becauſe he was known to be rich, and nobly deſcended.

And beſides all this, he was linked into affinity and acquaintance with many of the party of Marius, eſpecially with Sulpicius the tribune, a great friend of Marius, whoſe brother married his ſiſter.

And now the ſenate and nobility of Rome ſmarting under the power of Marius, and deſirous to avoid his inſolence, ſolicited Sylla to return to Rome for their deliverance.

Sylla returns with his army, and being oppoſed by the power of Marius and Sulpicius, overcomes them, kills Sulpicius, baniſheth Marius, and ſits heavy upon the party of Marius, with death, confiſcation, and baniſhment, as hath been before ſhewn.

Pomponius finding the buſineſs to grow warm and dangerous, and fearing the increaſe of troubles, and being now about nineteen or twenty years old, and having an handſome and juſt excuſe and opportunity to go to Athens, to improve his learning and knowledge, takes the opportunity; and in the interval of the domination of Sylla, and poſſibly foreſeeing a probability of the party of Marius to engage Rome in new troubles, repairs to Athens, and there he ſtays for about eight years, and as it ſeems, till after the ſecond return and death of Sylla.

And by this handſome retirement, he gains theſe two advantages.

1. The opportunity of his increaſe in learning.

2. The declining and avoiding the ſtorms at Rome, and the neceſſity of being ſome way unhappily engaged in one of

of the parties, or cruſhed between both; and yet the reaſonableneſs of the former, namely, his ſeaſonable going to Athens for the acqueſt of learning, according to the cuſtom of young gentlemen of that age and time, fairly covered his latter deſign of avoiding the troubleſome concerns of the Roman ſtate, and was a juſt and reaſonable excuſe for his retreat thence, though there had been no other cauſe.

So that herein the wiſdom of this young man appears; namely,

1. In chooſing ſuch a ſeaſon to retire from Rome, when it was not ſafe for a young gentleman to remain there, unleſs he would vainly hazard all by engaging in a faction.

2. In chooſing ſuch a ſeaſon of his age; namely, about twenty years; and ſuch a place for his retirement, as was proper for his advance in learning, and carried his apology with it, and avoided all juſt cauſe of exception by either party.

And if any ſhall ſay it was a piece of puſillanimity for him then to retire, when his country ſtood in need of his advice, aſſiſtance, and countenance; it is eaſily anſwered, the whole city was then divided into thoſe two factions; if he had gone about to have appeared againſt both, it had been vain and ridiculous, and utterly ineffectual; he had imprudently loſt his labour, and expoſed himſelf inevitably to be ruined by both; or either had he ſtood ſingle in ſuch oppoſition, every man would juſtly have eſteemed him a fool; and had he engaged others in ſuch an oppoſition, he had ruined his friends and participants as well as himſelf; which had not only been vain, but alſo inhuman, to have involved others in ſo fruitleſs and deſperate an enterpriſe. But, on the other ſide, had he fallen in with either faction, he muſt neceſſarily have been carried with a violent torrent of the faction wherein he was engaged, either in their common oppoſition of his country, and the cruelties which they uſed againſt their opponents, if they prevailed; or muſt needs have ſunk in the calamity of that party, if they were ſubdued: ſo that his retirement in this ſeaſon, was an act of great prudence; becauſe unleſs he had ſo done, he had no pretence, conſidering his youth and eminence, to avoid the entanglement in one faction, or the deſperate oppoſition of both, if he had ſtaid: but afterwards in that faction between Pompey and Cæſar, he being then near ſixty years old, kept his ſtation in Rome without any retirement, having the fair excuſe of his old age, to apologize againſt engagement with either. This therefore was the

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firſt ſpecimen of his prudence, his ſeaſonable and juſtifiable retirement to Athens in his youth, when factions grew violent, and chooſing that time and place for his quiet improvement of learning, which he might with moſt opportunity and ſafety dedicate to that employment.

CHAP. VII.

THE SECOND EXPEDIENT THAT HE USED FOR HIS SAFETY AND PRESERVATION; HIS INDUSTRIOUS AVOIDING OF BEING ENGAGED IN ANY FACTION WHILE HE LIVED IN ROME.

INDEED the generality of the honeſt methods of this good man to preſerve himſelf and his tranquillity, together with his innocence, may be reduced to theſe two general heads: his care to avoid the making of enemies, and his endeavours honeſtly to make all men his friends: for the latter, both will come under the conſideration of what he avoided in order to his preſervation: and under this general falls this particular conſideration of avoiding engagement in any factions. In order thereunto was that expedient mentioned in the former chapter; namely, his retirement from Rome.

And now I ſhall conſider the farther proſecution thereof in relation to thoſe importunities that were uſed to engage him in parties after his return to Rome, and even while he was in Athens; and ſhall make theſe obſervations touching it, that may be uſeful in relation to it.

When Pomponius was at Athens, Sylla reſorted to him, there preſented him with gifts, complimented him, and uſed all methods to endear him. And this he did for many reaſons.

Firſt, out of the great reſpect and honour that he bore to his learning and worth; this was fair and noble, and became ſuch a man as Sylla was, who was a great lover of learning. But this was not all.

Secondly, therefore Sylla being now engaged againſt the party of Marius, and now about to return to Rome, upon that deſign, thought that it would be an advantage to him and his proceeding, if he could but publicly poſſeſs the

world

world with an opinion of a great familiarity and intimacy between himſelf and Pomponius, who was a perſon of great honour and reputation, not only at Athens, but at Rome; and the news would quickly fly thither touching the great kindneſs between Sylla and Pomponius, and this would quickly beget an opinion that Pomponius was won over to his party; that Sylla communicated his counſels to him, and uſed his advice; and that all the courſes he ſteered were guided by Atticus' compaſs; and then the veneration that all perſons had of Pomponius and his wiſdom, would give a great credit to his undertaking, when once the people of Rome were poſſeſſed of that great intimacy and dearneſs between him and Sylla. And beſides it was well known, that although Pomponius would never be drawn into the party of Marius, or any other, yet he had many friends and relations in that party; and ſuch a report would give a great diſcouragement to that party: and this is no ſtrange piece of policy. Aannibal, when he came into Italy, ſhewed all the kindneſs to the relations and poſſeſſions of thoſe men in Rome, that he moſt feared; thereby to poſſeſs the people with a jealouſy of them, that they were of his party, or with a greater kindneſs to himſelf, that he favoured thoſe the people honoured. And it hath been an uſual trick in times of public differences, that when uſurpers, or the heads of any factions, were about any pernicious or miſchievous action, they would immediately, before the propalation of ſuch buſineſſes, ſend for perſons of greateſt reputation and credit, and poſſibly thoſe that they knew to be greatly in credit with the adverſe party, careſs them, entertain private converſe and ſpeech with them, though perchance of ſome idle impertinent buſineſs; as of a horſe-race, or hunting-match, and then preſently after publiſh, or go about ſome pernicious action, that the world might think to be the product of ſome advice from thoſe perſons whom they thus entertained. And this was another reaſon that Sylla maintained this great familiarity with Atticus at Athens, that the world might think that ſurely he was now of Sylla's party, and that they had communicated counſels each with other, for the farther advance of Sylla's undertakings.

3. It reſted not here; Sylla, being a great man, and having the province of Aſia aſſigned to him, wherein Athens lay, uſed all theſe friendſhips to Atticus, to ſee whether he could really draw him over unto him; and having,

having, as he thought, prepared him with ſo great applications, and addreſſes, and familiarity, from ſo great a man as himſelf then was, thought that now it might be ſeaſonable to perſuade him to go along with him to Rome, and in plain terms to be of his party; but he was not only diſappointed herein, but by the overacting of this part, he loſt all that advantage which he might have gained by the former policy, namely, to have perſuaded the world, by that great intercourſe between them, that Atticus was ſecretly, at leaſt, of his faction. When Sylla therefore a little before his going from Athens, plainly broke his mind to Atticus, and perſuaded him to go along with him to Rome, he gave him the peremptory, yet reaſonable anſwer: *Noli adverſum eos me velle ducere cum quibus ne contrà te arma ferrem, Italiam reliqui:* 'Perſuade me not to go againſt them; for I left Italy, that I might not bear arms with them againſt thee.' Sylla, though he loſt his compliments and deſign, yet outwardly, at leaſt, appeared ſatisfied with the reaſonableneſs and juſtneſs of his anſwer, gave him fair reſpects at his departure from Athens, and returned to Rome, where he gave another turn of things, and quite routed the party of Marius.

Again, when Pompey was in his great power, and upon the difference between him and Cæſar, marched againſt Cæſar, with the vote and ſuffrage of the ſenate and the city of Rome, though Atticus, now in Rome, ſhewed him all private and friendly reſpect, yet he would by no means be drawn to follow Pompey into the field, or to intereſt himſelf in the concern of that faction; but fairly excuſed himſelf by reaſon of his age, being then about threeſcore. This Cæſar interpreted to his advantage (though he would moſt certainly have given the like anſwer to him, had Cæſar had the like opportunity of the like requeſt), yet I ſay Cæſar took it kindly, and was willing, for his credit's ſake, to interpret it to his own advantage; and therefore when he returned victor over Pompey, he did not only ſpare Atticus (though he ſtaid at Rome) from any ſuch thing as proſcription or confiſcation (the eaſieſt animadverſion that the victors uſe upon their enemies), but excuſed him from that mulct or fine that was impoſed upon neuters. Yea, he did not only ſpare him from any thing of puniſhment, but uſed him with all the humanity and reſpect imaginable.

Again, when Brutus and Caſſius, and their party, baſely murdered Julius Cæſar in the ſenate, and Brutus was there-

thereupon raiſed up, not only by the party of Pompey, as the *Vindex Pompeiani ſanguinis*, but by the generality of Rome, as the great patron of their liberty: that as the firſt Brutus delivered them from the power of kings, ſo the ſecond Brutus reſcued them from the power of a king, under the name of a perpetual dictator; and the ſenate and people magnified him as the great aſſertor of their liberty: I ſay, when Brutus rid upon this triumphant chariot of popular applauſes, there was a ſecret deſign on foot for the raiſing of a private bank or treaſury for Brutus, the head of this commonwealth-party, and the deſign was laid that it ſhould be done by a ſubſcription, and thoſe of the Equeſtrian order ſhould be the firſt ſubſcribers: and the contrivers of this advice, knowing Atticus to be rich, liberal, of great reputation, and therefore that his example would be of great authority, they thought to begin with him, and that his name ſhould be the firſt in the ſubſcription-roll, but they were deceived: Atticus plainly told them, that although Brutus ſhould command his purſe, as a private perſon, for the relief of his perſonal exigencies, as he had often done before, yet he would by no means meddle in ſuch an enterprize, which favoured ſo much of an engagement in a faction, and a public owning of a party; and thereupon the deſign broke, and was no further proſecuted. And this was no ſmall occaſion of his ſafety and preſervation, and alſo of his honour and eſteem, when the tide of affairs turned, and Antony returned to Rome victorious againſt Brutus.

And by all theſe, and many more indications of this kind, Atticus made it evident to all men, that he was reſolved againſt any engagement in any faction; and this gave him that great ſecurity and privilege, that whenſoever he relieved any of any faction, it was not with any contemplation of their party or faction, but, as I have often ſaid, upon the common account of reſpect to human nature, and a certain native philanthropy to mankind in general: and again, when he reſolutely denied any ſuch action or thing as might be juſtly conſtrued an eſpouſing of a faction, yet he was not thereby obnoxious to the indignation of that party that he ſo refuſed, he did but, *ſolitum obtinere*, 'keep his cuſtom,' and did equally and impartially reject the ſolicitations of all parties in this kind; and hereby he ſtood upon his own baſis and bottom, kept his ſtation, was neither engaged in any faction, not was he rendered thereby obnoxious to the indignation of the parties which

which he thus refuſed, though they were in power, and able to do what they pleaſed; becauſe they found by experience, he did but hold his principle, and was impartial therein, equally refuſing other factions as well as their's.

It is true that he relieved Brutus after his exile; but ſo he alſo relieved Antony after his exile, though both were extreme enemies each to other; but ſtill it was for their private relief, not to ſupport their factions. Brutus uſed him as his great counſellor, as we are told in his life: but it was not upon the account of Brutus his public undertakings, but only touching his private concerns; which appears beyond all queſtion in that in their higheſt familiarity and friendſhip, he refuſed not only to ſubſcribe for the treaſure deſigned for Brutus, but would not ſo much as meet about it.

And the reaſons that moved him to this kind of neutrality in factions, are evident, and may be ſatisfactory.

Firſt, He did it upon an account of greateſt prudence; for it was evident to him by great experience, and by a wiſe proſpect of things, that theſe factions and their ſucceſſes were ſtrangely mutable and uncertain. Our author tells us, *Tanta varietas iis temporibus fuit fortunæ, ut modò hi, modò illi in ſummo eſſent faſtigio aut periculo:* 'The ſucceſſes of factions were ſo uncertain, and the viciſſitudes ſo ſtrange and various, that thoſe that now prevailed, and ſeemed in an impregnable condition, were ſuddenly tumbled down; and again, thoſe that ſeemed in an irrecoverable and deſperate ruin, regained the government, even to a miracle.' And the reaſons are partly given in the ſecond chapter; and therefore by engaging in any faction, he was ſure to undergo the common fate which that faction had; which was either wholly to be ruined, if the adverſe party prevailed, or at beſt, in caſe the party wherein he ſhould be engaged, prevailed, yet they were but in a tottering, uncertain, unquiet, reſtleſs condition, and were not like to hold that power or intereſt which they had ſo difficultly gotten.

Secondly, He did it upon account of common juſtice and honeſty; for thoſe factions in the ſtate of Rome were not the true, lawful, ſettled government thereof; for therein Atticus and all good men ought to have engaged; for it had been their duty and glory to have aſſiſted it, and a certain baſeneſs and puſillanimity of mind to have deſerted. But thoſe factions in Rome were ſuch as I have before deſcribed in the ſecond chapter; certain excreſcencies, tumours,

mours, and diſeaſes ariſing in the Roman ſtate, by the power, ambition, and unquiet ſpirits of certain buſy men in Rome, that either thought their worth neglected, or not ſufficiently rewarded, or were provoked to animoſities by mutual jealouſies and emulations one of another. And although it is true in the ſeveral viciſſitudes of the prevalence of any faction, they did ſo handle the ſenate and people by artifices, and tricks, and threats, and affrights, that they minted their factions oftentimes with the ſtamp and face of the ſenate and public authority; yet the truth was, they were really ſtill no other than factions and parties, which like prevalent noxious humours, or putrified diſtempers in the body, overpowered the true ſtate and genius of the civil government, and rendered the whole body in diſorder; yet it could be no more eſteemed the true complexion of the Roman government, than a fever or calenture, though it overſpread the whole man, can be accounted the true and natural complexion of the man. And although the paroxiſms or fits that the Roman ſtate was put into were various, and contrary each to other, according as one or the other prevailed, like the hot fit and the cold fit in an ague, yet ſtill the commonwealth of Rome was ſick, and laboured under the diſtemper of either faction, whichſoever of them prevailed, as the hiſtories of thoſe times abundantly inform us.

And therefore all thoſe ſeveral factions, as they were extremely cruel and ſevere unto one another, ſo they were all infinitely pernicious to the commonwealth; which by the competitions of thoſe turbulent ſpirits, was torn in pieces. And therefore Atticus, in common juſtice, and upon the account of that love he owed and bore to his country, had no reaſon to join with one or other party, which were in truth but ſo many cancers, and ulcers, and diſeaſes of his country, which, though they were too ſtrong for him to cure, yet he had no reaſon to aſſiſt.

I do confeſs that commonly all factions, to gain themſelves credit, at leaſt make ſome pretence for the good of their country, ſomething that they would pretend to reform. And it may be really there was ſomething in the ſtate of Rome that was neceſſary to be reformed, and the diſorder might be ſo powerful, ſtubborn, and obſtinate, that they thought it could not be done by ordinary means; and that at the firſt attempt might be the thing that they, or at leaſt many of them really, and it may be only, or at leaſt principally,

principally, aimed to ſet aright: but Atticus was a wiſe man, and did eaſily ſee,

1. That many times reformation was pretended, but the great deſign was private intereſt, or revenge. Or,

2. If ſome men, in the ſimplicity of their hearts, meant well to the ſtate of Rome, that were engaged in thoſe factions, yet when once a faction is ſet on foot, men that have other deſigns, either of ambition or covetouſneſs, mingle in it, and commonly in a little time become prevalent, and diſtort all to their private ends and advantages, and engage others in the like, who are fed, or do feed themſelves with the like hopes. And,

3. He well knew that in a little proceſs of time, variety, ſucceſſion, and occurrences, and new emergencies, and counſels, carry factions quite beyond their firſt deſigns, into greater rapine, fury, and cruelty and revenge, than ever they themſelves, it may be, at firſt thought they ſhould ever have been guilty of.

And therefore the experience that Atticus had of the prodigious cruelties and bloodſhed, and rapine, and violence, that former factions had produced in Rome, made him peremptory againſt engaging in any, notwithſtanding their moſt ſpecious pretences and earneſt importunities to engage him; for he well knew that if he ſhould be engaged in any, yet had it obtained the beſt ſucceſs that they could reaſonably expect, namely, victory, and a full enjoyment and poſſeſſion of the power they deſired, yet the rage and exaſperation of the ſoldiery, the deſire of revenge of thoſe injuries the conquering party had formerly ſuffered, the opportunities of enriching themſelves by the ſpoils and confiſcation of the conquered, the neceſſity of gratifying many neceſſitous and indigent perſons of their party, the politic endeavour to ſecure themſelves in their new acquired power, by the death and ruin of all ſuch whom they knew or feared, or ſuſpected were or might be their oppoſites, and the ſtriving to eſtabliſh themſelves againſt any poſſibility of falling under the power of thoſe that they had injured; theſe, I ſay, and ſuch as theſe, would preſently engage the victorious party to exerciſe all cruelty and violence, confiſcations and proſcriptions, death and murder, upon thoſe they hated, or feared, or injured, or ſuſpected; and all this Atticus muſt behold, and not be able in the leaſt degree to help; and ſo his firſt engagement into this party, though victorious, muſt intereſt him in all the villanies, and injuries, and unjuſtneſs that muſt be the fruit of this ſucceſs.

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In the firſt motion of enterprizes of this nature, the pretences are commonly fair, modeſt, nothing pretended but reformation of abuſes, and great moderation profeſſed; and this is ſo carried by heads of factions, partly to cover their deſigns, partly to gain to themſelves credit and good eſteem with good men, or at leaſt with the vulgar, that thereby the heads of parties may with the more eaſe and plauſibility attain their deſired ſucceſs. Yea, it may be poſſible that the heads of parties might in their firſt attempts really intend what they at firſt pretended. But when the ſucceſs is attained, and poſſibly by great bloodſhed, the governors of factions quickly outgo the ends and deſigns at firſt propounded. New ſucceſſes give new reſolutions, new deſigns, new attempts, which before either were not diſcovered, or, it may be, not thought on by the firſt undertakers in their firſt undertaking. And Atticus well knew, that if once he was engaged in the enterprize, he muſt follow not only the fortune, but alſo the commands and counſels of the party and their governors, and ſo be engaged in all the villanies and injuſtice that attended their ſucceſs, and ſo loſe his innocence: or if he ſhould go about to declaim and proteſt againſt the unjuſt proſecution of their ſucceſſes, and endeavour to reſiſt them, his endeavour might be his ruin; but at the beſt, could never be prevalent or ſucceſsful; and the beſt fruit he could expect from his engagement in the party, would be repentance too dearly bought, the loſs of his credit, if not of his innocence, the ſad ſpectacle of the violence and injuſtice of that faction wherein he thus had unhappily engaged, and a miſerable, deplorable, diſappointment in all his endeavours to reclaim it, or reſtrain thoſe violences that muſt accompany its ſucceſs; the motions of a powerful, prevailing, and ſucceſsful faction, being ordinarily as ungovernable by the interpoſition of a private perſon, as the rolling of a mighty ſtone from the top of a ſteep hill, which will never leave rolling, till it comes to the bottom; and the longer it runs, the more violent and ungovernable is its motion.

Nay, it very often comes to paſs, that a faction in a ſtate, if it hath any continuance, grows utterly unlike to what it firſt was; the counſels and firſt deſigns muſt neceſſarily change; new men, and of new principles, ſucceſſively come in play, which bring new counſels in faſhion and requeſt: Nay, every variety of ſucceſs changes the counſels of them that at firſt preſided in it; though they continue the ſame perſons, they put on new purpoſes, reſolutions and undertakings;

takings; ſo that if Atticus could have perſuaded himſelf to have engaged in any faction, he muſt have reſolved to have kept thoſe plauſible principles which firſt led him to that engagement, and then he had been quite out-run by his own party, or elſe he muſt have reſolved to hold pace with his party in all their changes and practices, and then he muſt out-run his innocence, his conſtant integrity, himſelf. And as thus his prudence kept him from mingling himſelf in faction, by a due proſpect of the ill conſequences that muſt needs ariſe to him thereby; ſo the very habit, complexion, and conſtitution of his mind, admirably ſecured him againſt all temptations thereunto.

There is in moſt men a certain intemperance of paſſions that renders them very obnoxious to fall in with factions; but among them there are three ſorts of paſſions, or rather indeed putrefactions of paſſions, and diſeaſes of the ſoul, namely, ambition, or the deſire of honour, power, place, preferment, covetouſneſs, or the deſire of riches, or vindictiveneſs, or the deſire of revenge. And if a man do but take notice of the politic managements either of the governors of ſtates or kingdoms, or of particular affairs of leſs note, the concerns of the world are very much carried on by ſetting of handles to thoſe diſtempers in men, and then they are led about and guided as men guide puppets on a ſtage, by unſeen wires or pullies; ſo that thoſe motions which to outward appearance ſeem free and from themſelves, yet, in truth, they are in kind neceſſary, and managed by others, that either wiſely or craftily propoſe but objects to thoſe unruly paſſions; and they follow them as the needle doth the loadſtone. And this the crafty heads of factions make great uſe of; and if they find a man that is under the regiment of any of theſe diſtempers, 'tis a thouſand to one but they win him over: If he find an ambitious, or a mutinous, or a revengeful man, he fiddles him in the head with ſuch inſtances as theſe: Would thou be great, or rich, or powerful, or revenged for ſome public neglect or affront, I will ſhew thee a ſure and compendious way of attaining thy deſires; thou ſhalt not need to run the long, tedious, laborious race of virtue, to attain honour or make thee great, nor the tedious induſtrious application of thyſelf to ſome trade or calling, to make thee rich; nor the regular motion of a judicial proceſs to avenge thy injuries: fall in with us, and all the honours, and power, and riches of Rome, ſhall at one clap fall into our diſpoſe, and thou ſhalt have the opportunity to be thine own avenger of thy affronts and injuries. Nay further,

further, to ſay the truth, ſuch is the magic and enchantment that ariſeth from thoſe intemperances of the mind, that without any ſolicitation from without, they carry men headlong that way they think ſhorteſt to ſatisfy themſelves; and therefore are eaſily caught and entangled in a faction, as that which promiſeth the compendious method for the attainment of their deſires.

But the conſtitution and complexion of the very ſoul of Atticus was ſuch, that thoſe diſtempers of ambition, covetouſneſs, or revenge, dwelt not there; and by this means he was proof againſt temptations from within or from without, to ſide with a faction. He was honoured and eſteemed for his own worth and virtue, and he was not ambitious of any other acceſſions of honour, place, or preferment.

He had a competency of eſtate, decently to ſupport himſelf and his family, and relieve his friends in neceſſity; and he was contented with his condition, was not deſirous of more: and as he was ſo happy, as never to have received any ſuch injury as might provoke revenge, ſo he had ſuch a calm, ſerene, even frame of mind, that that paſſion could get no hold upon him: and he had abundantly well learned the beſt leſſon of the ſtoical philoſophers, not to injure himſelf by paſſion or perturbation becauſe another did him wrong; if the injuries were ſmall, he took no notice of them; if great, he ſoon forgot and forgave them. And this was all the revenge he took of injuries; and to ſay the truth, it is an exquiſite, yet innocent kind of revenge; for it makes the wrong-doer quickly ſenſible of his own injuſtice, and revenge the ſame upon himſelf by ſorrow and repentance.

Theſe, and the like conſiderations, were obnoxious to his experience, as well as his reaſon; and therefore, although he were acquainted, and poſſibly very familiarly, with many perſons engaged in thoſe factions; nay, though he might ſee eaſily an apparent demonſtration of their ſucceſs, yet he would never engage in them himſelf, but avoided it as a peſt or a plague-ſore, wherein he was ſure, if he were once engaged, he ſhould loſe either his ſafety, or his innocence, or both.

CHAP. VIII.

THE THIRD EXPEDIENT THAT ATTICUS USED FOR HIS SAFETY, REFUSING TOO GREAT KINDNESSES FROM GREAT PERSONS.

THE third expedient which this man uſed for his ſafety, was this; that although he was always ready to oblige all men by all offices of kindneſſes, yet he would never receive over-great kindneſſes from great perſons, eſpecially if they were of ſuch a kind or meaſure, as he might not be able probably to requite; as great or profitable places, offices, honours or donatives: and the reaſons that induced him to this abſtinence and declining of ſuch great obligations, ſeem to be theſe:

1. He was a man that contented himſelf with his condition; which, as it was plentiful enough, ſo he was very well ſatisfied with what he enjoyed, and had neither an ambitious mind to become greater, or a covetous mind to become richer than his father and his uncle left him.

2. He was a modeſt man, and did not ſet ſo high a rate upon himſelf or his merits, as to expect a tribute of beneficence from others, as the deſert of his worth.

3. He was a grateful man; he was forgetful of injuries done to him, but mindful of benefits received by him, and thankful for them, and eſteemed himſelf ſtill in debt till he had made a proportionable return for kindneſſes received. And therefore, if the benefits were ſo great, that they were beyond requital, he thought himſelf in the condition of ſuch men as owe more than they are able to pay; which is a troubleſome and ſlaviſh condition: and ſuch his own would have been, if he had been ſurcharged with immenſe courteſies.

But, 4. and principally, the reaſon why he declined ſuch obligations, was, becauſe he would retain his own liberty, and continue maſter of himſelf and his actions; for moſt commonly immenſe benefits received from great men, eſpecially if inclinable to any faction, render the receiver under a great ſervitude to his benefactor, and is a great obligation for a man to think, and ſpeak, and act as their patron deſires or expects; and certainly in a troubled ſtate, inclinable to factions, ſuch kind of obligations are pernicious to the obliged, renders them as it were, the clients and vaſſals of their patron, and by a kind of ſecret charm or enchantment, makes them ſervants to him; and this obſtinacy

obſtinacy of Atticus in theſe commotions of Rome, was a great means of his peace, liberty, ſafety, and diſengagement from parties: and therefore, when Pompey (who was a great man, popular and beneficent) endeavoured to place great gifts and offices upon him, he warily and prudently declined them; and by that means, when Pompey ſolicited him to appear of his party againſt Cæſar, and to go with him to the wars, he was in a condition to refuſe it, and accordingly excuſed himſelf from that engagement, and ſate ſtill at Rome; when at the ſame time thoſe perſons whom Pompey had obliged with great offices and large donatives, were fain to come to him, upon his ſummons, and engage with him in that great conteſt between him and Cæſar, and fall with him; for although they would have been gladly excuſed from this undertaking, yet they durſt not decline it, being under this unhappy dilemma, that if Pompey prevailed, they ſhould have loſt his favour, and thoſe honours and offices that they enjoyed by his bounty; if Cæſar prevailed, yet being perſons ſo greatly obliged by Pompey, they would have been ſuſpected and oppreſſed by Cæſar, or at leaſt neglected by him, as perſons that were really of the Pompeian faction, though they declined the preſent engagement. But howſoever their reputation would have ſuffered, and they would have been accounted a ſort of ungrateful people, that after all ſuch obligations as they had received from Pompey, ſhould ungratefully deſert their benefactor, when danger or difficulty appeared.

But on the other ſide, this prudent obſtinacy of Atticus, fairly excuſed his declining of Pompey's engagement, without the leaſt imputation of ingratitude, and was yet of ſingular advantage to him when Cæſar returned victor, who highly honoured him at his return to Rome, and much advanced the reputation of his prudence and diſcretion, that ſo wiſely refuſed ſuch an engagement in Pompey's faction, that in the ſucceſs might otherwiſe have ruined him; and ſo wiſely refuſed all thoſe great obligations that Pompey would have put upon him, that, had they been received, would, in all probability, have engaged him in his faction. Thus our author tells us, *Nullum enim à Pompeio habebat ornamentum, ut cæteri qui per eum aut honores aut divitias ceperant; quorum partim invitiſſimi Caſtra ſunt ſequuti, partim ſumma cum ejus offenſa domi remanſerunt.*[1]

[1] "For he would receive of him no eminent bounty, as others, who by his means obtained honours or wealth, part of whom, even against their wills, followed him to the field, and part ſtaid at home, not without his great offence."

And there was another reaſon of his modeſt refuſal of public honours and offices from thoſe who had the power of conferring of them, and that had a favourable reſpect for him; for he made uſe of their favours for a better and nobler end, namely, to reſcue and relieve men that were, or might be oppreſſed, or in extremity, in the colliſion of factions: this uſe indeed he made of their favours, as he had opportunity. And had he taken reſpects from them for his own advancement or wealth, thoſe rewards and gratuities would have precluded his opportunity of interceſſion for others. He therefore prudently declined the collation of bounties, offices, or honours to himſelf, from thoſe that had the opportunity and will to confer them upon him, and reſerved their reſpects for the good or deliverance of others, whom the inconſtancy and change of affairs rendered obnoxious to thoſe that were in preſent power.

CHAP. IX.

THE FOURTH EXPEDIENT OF ATTICUS REFUSING OFFICES AND PUBLIC EMPLOYMENTS IN THE COMMONWEALTH, BY THE SUFFRAGES OF THE SENATE OR PEOPLE.

I COME to the fourth thing which Atticus induſtriouſly avoided, namely, public offices.

Some offices in Rome were in the power of particular perſons; as principally, their *legati provinciarum*, lieutenants of provinces, which were in the gift of theſe public miniſters, whether conſuls, tribunes, or others, to whom the government of provinces were allotted. Theſe ſubſtitutes had very honourable and profitable employments, commanding in affairs of peace and war in theſe provinces in the abſence of the chief, and alſo of a great authority while they were preſent.

Other offices were elective or conſtitutive by the ſenate or people, as conſuls, tribunes, pretors, ediles, cenſors, &c.

In the former chapter, I have ſhewn his declining the reception of offices from the hands of private perſons; and now I ſhall ſhew his avoiding of ſuch public offices as were of public choice or donation.

Offices in Rome were rarely offered, but ſought; they were beneficial and honourable employments, and wanted not

not competitors; but Atticus was ſo far from ſeeking offices, that he would not take them when offered, but induſtriouſly declined them: when the citizens would have elected him pretor, he refuſed it; and he made this handſome advantage hereof, that when his brother-in-law Quintus, being afterwards elected pretor, and had a province aſſigned him, and offered Atticus to be his legate, he told him that he had formerly refuſed the office that Quintus now had, and therefore it was not decent for him to take a ſubſtitution from him.

This therefore was Atticus's principle; he would do all the good offices he could, either for particular perſons, or for the commonwealth, in the ſtation and capacity of a private perſon; thus he did for the republic of Athens, while he lived there; and thus he did in Rome: but neither in the one city nor the other, could he be drawn to undertake any public office or employment. The reaſons whereof ſhall be hereafter ſhewn.

Firſt, touching public offices and employments in general, certainly the generality of men are ſtrangely miſtaken. It ſeems a wonder to me, to ſee the folly and vanity of men, that ſo fondly hunt after great offices and employments: heretofore, in the ſtate of Greece eſpecially, men better underſtood themſelves and their intereſt, and peace, and happineſs, than voluntarily to engage themſelves in offices and great employments, inſomuch that there were then compulſory laws to enforce men to undertake not only inferior and petty offices that were of burden and charge, but greater offices that had honour and profit annexed to them; which though they are more honourable, and more profitable, yet they are more dangerous and hazardous; and the truth is, that it hath been the ſkill and art of the wiſer ſort of mankind to annex to ſuch great employments thoſe blandiſhments of honour, eſteem, and profit, to invite men to the undertaking of them; as phyſicians gild their bitter pills, that they may be the eaſier ſwallowed. The plain truth is, offices and places of great import and truſt, are neceſſary for the good of others, and for the preſervation and order of kingdoms, ſtates, and commonwealths, and therefore the wiſdom of thoſe kingdoms and ſtates is to be commended, that annex to them thoſe enſigns of honour and honourable ſupplies for their ſupport, to invite and encourage men to undertake them; yea, and further, where thoſe invitations will not ſerve to draw men of worth and ability to undertake them, thoſe ſtates are to be commended that enact laws to

compel ſuch men to undertake them. But it is moſt certain that any man that ambitiouſly hunts after them, nay, that man that doth not induſtriouſly decline them, if poſſibly he may, underſtands not himſelf, nor his own peace, happineſs, or contentment; which will appear, if theſe things be conſidered.

1. A man that undertakes a public office or employment, doth neceſſarily draw upon himſelf much envy; and the reaſon is, becauſe the generality of mankind have a good opinion of themſelves, and think they deſerve thoſe offices and employments that others enjoy, and they think alſo very well of the offices and employments themſelves, look upon them as goodly, fine, gaudy buſineſſes, and are fond of the honour and wealth that is annexed unto them, and they would fain be at them, and think thoſe that do enjoy them ſtand in their way, and therefore they envy, and malign them, and envy is a buſy active humour, and reſtleſs, until it unhorſe thoſe upon whom it faſtens, or break itſelf in the attempt.

For it is ordinarily true, whoſoever poſſeſſeth that which many deſire, hath as many enemies and enviers as he hath rivals and competitors: and as many competitors as there are ambitious or covetous men in the world. And beſides this, all great offices have commonly ſomewhat of power annexed to them. And although ſocieties of men can never ſubſiſt in order without ſome power be over them, yet particular perſons commonly hate and envy any power in any but themſelves.

2. A man that undertakes a public employment, is under a powerful temptation to loſe and give up all that quiet, and reſt, and tranquillity that a private ſtation yields; and if not all, yet a great part of his liberty, and diveſts himſelf of himſelf; and do what he can, he muſt in a great meaſure give himſelf up to others, as the price of that honour, preeminence, and power which he enjoys; which is too dear a purchaſe for any wiſe and conſiderate man that can well avoid it.

3. There is no man ſo wiſe, ſo dexterous in buſineſs of public employment, ſo attentive to it, nor ſo fortunate in it, but hath his defects, incogitancies and inadvertencies, or at leaſt misfortunes in it; and theſe deficiencies in a private ſtation, are leſs perceived and obſerved, and the conſequences of them are narrow, and moſt commonly within the confines of a man's ſelf or his family: but in a man of public employment, firſt, theſe defects

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are more eaſily obſerved and ſeen; as his perſon and ſtation is conſpicuous, ſo his defects are eaſily ſeen by any by-ſtanders.

2. As they are eaſily ſeen, ſo they are diligently watched and obſerved; he wants not ſuch ſpectators as make it their buſineſs to be diligent ſearchers and obſervers of them.

3. When thoſe defects at any time appear, though perchance they are but few and ſmall, yet they are the objects of moſt ſevere cenſure and animadverſion.

If a private man's wiſdom, goodneſs, or prudence, do *ad plurimum* overbalance his follies or inadvertencies, the man paſſeth for a wiſe and good man; but a little folly in a man in a great employment, ſhall cloud and overſhadow in the public eſteem all his wiſdom and goodneſs, though this be far the greater.

4 But that which is worſt of all, the errors, miſtakes, miſcarriages, or inadvertencies of a private man, hurts none but himſelf or his narrow relations: but even ſmall errors, or miſtakes, or follies, in a man of public employment, and in the exerciſe thereof, may be of a vaſt and comprehenſive concern, and the ill conſequences thereof oftentimes irreparable. An error of a judge in his judgment, may miſlead or undo thouſands; an error in counſel in a counſellor, may ruin a ſtate or kingdom; an error in conduct in a general, may deſtroy an army: and ſurely every wiſe man will, as much as he may, keep himſelf out of theſe hazardous conſequences, ſince every wiſe man knows that his is not without his mixtures of folly and weakneſs.

4. Again, let a man in public employments manage them with all the integrity and wiſdom imaginable, yet the race is not always to the ſwift, nor the battle to the ſtrong; there may be, there will be oftentimes ſuch diſappointments and croſs events, that will bring ill ſucceſs to the beſt and wiſeſt endeavours, and then, notwithſtanding all his wiſdom and fidelity, the ill ſucceſs ſhall be attributed to his want of integrity, courage, or wiſdom. Every fool will be ready to ſay, if the counſel had been thus, the event had been otherwiſe; and the people ſhall either perſuade themſelves, or be perſuaded by others, that the man was either falſe or fooliſh in his employment; yea, and the ſtate wherein he lived, either to humour the people, or to hold up their credit, and an expectation of better ſucceſs when others are employed, will be ready to make a politic ſacrifice of ſuch a miniſter of ſtate, whoſe fault was not to be falſe, or a fool, but only to be unfortunate.

6. Again,

6. Again, there is no public officer in the world, but muſt neceſſarily make a conſiderable party of mankind his enemy: if he be one in judicial employment, he muſt pronounce to the diſadvantage of one party, and then that party that hates him, if he be an officer employed in the iſſuing of the public revenue, he that ſtays longeſt for his money, hates him; if he be employed in diſpenſation of rewards, offices or places, as military commanders, he that is diſappointed in his expectation, or that finds leſs than he expected, hates him: and it will not be material to the ſafety of him that is hated, whether there be cauſe or not, if the party provoked think he hath cauſe, his indignation is as high as if it were juſt; and moſt commonly is provided with a calumny to infuſe into the people to make them believe it ſo. And if it be ſaid in all theſe and the like caſes, the party makes as many friends as he doth enemies; for if one be diſappointed, another is rewarded; and if one be pronounced againſt, another is pronounced for; this mends not the matter: for ſuppoſed injuries are longer remembered than real benefits; and commonly he that receives a benefit, eſteems it his due; he that goes without it, thinks it an injury: and hatred and revenge are more active and vigilant to do miſchief upon a ſuppoſed injury or neglect, than duty or gratitude is to defend one, from whom either juſtice or benefit hath been received.

Upon all theſe, and many more evident reaſons, it is beyond queſtion, that no conſiderate man hath reaſon to be fond of any public employment, though attended with honour, power and profit, but fairly to decline it if he may: and therefore it is no wonder that Pomponius Atticus, who was a wiſe, knowing man, was ſo far from ſeeking it, that he declined it when offered.

2. But ſuppoſing that in a calm, ſedate time, this wiſe and good man might have been perſuaded to take an honourable public employment, and that it had not been only conſiſtent with his wiſdom, but his duty ſo to have done; and that if he had declined it, it had been either an argument of puſillanimity or fooliſhneſs, yea, and injuſtice, to partake of the benefit and protection of the public miniſters and officers of Rome, and to have denied the ſame common offices to others, when by the ſuffrages or nomination of thoſe who were intruſted therein, he was appointed a public miniſter; yet certainly conſidering the time wherein he lived, and the great diſtempers that prevailed in that ſtate, his declining of public employments, was not only excuſable

able and juſtifiable, but alſo very commendable, and an abſtinence full of prudence and great diſcretion: for he that takes a public employment in a troubled ſtate, is (without the intervention of a marvellous providence) firſt, and before any others, expoſed to the ſhock of all public commotions: if a faction prevail, if he either oppoſe it, or be ſuſpected by it, he is ſure to be one of the firſt that muſt be ruined by it, becauſe he will be thought an impediment to the deſign; and it is a wonder if he eſcape without an exile or confiſcation. On the other ſide, if he be in the good opinion of that faction, and ſo continued in his employment, he is under an engagement, not only in the hazard of their fortune, but alſo in the purſuit and execution of all thoſe deſperate enterprizes that ſuch a faction thinks neceſſary or convenient for their eſtabliſhment; which if he do not, then unleſs they otherwiſe fear him, or exceedingly reverence his perſon, as one that may credit their party, he is ſure to be dealt more ſeverely with, than if he had at firſt oppoſed them. On the other ſide, if he comply with them, and ſerve their turns, and proſecute their deſigns in the public ſtation wherein he ſtands, he ſhall loſe his reputation, and his innocence, and be entangled in a moſt baſe ſervitude, and be made inſtrumental in thoſe actions which perchance he inwardly abhors; and if he ſtart or boggle at them, he ſhall be dealt with as the worſt of enemies; and if ever there come a turn of affairs, he ſhall be ſure to be one of the firſt that is cruſhed by the prevailing party: and this Cicero found to be true, to his coſt; for he, that while he was but an advocate, ſtood unſhaken in all thoſe troubleſome times wherein he lived (though he ſometimes uſed his tongue with too much liberty in his public orations) yet when once he became entangled in public offices of conſul and ſenator, he quickly felt the power and vindictiveneſs of the party of Antony, upon his return; and loſt his life in the fury and rage of his incenſed adverſary, which he had eſcaped, had he followed the wiſe example of his friend Atticus, in declining public employment. And therefore Cato Uticenſis, who the greateſt part of his life had been concerned in public offices and employments in Rome, yet when he found himſelf over-borne by the Cæſarean party, learned, though too late, Atticus's wiſdom, and left this legacy to his ſon, that he ſhould never engage himſelf in the public adminiſtrations, offices, or employment of the commonwealth.

And truly Atticus, by this wiſe abſtinence from public office

offices and employments, obtained much of that ſafety and happineſs which he enjoyed.

1. By this means he enjoyed himſelf and his tranquillity of mind and life, and all thoſe advantages and opportunities of improving his learning and knowledge, which he could never have had in a public ſtation.

2. By this means he kept himſelf free from enemies or emulation, envy and detraction, the common attendants of public and great employments.

3. By this means he kept both his ſafety, his innocence, and reputation; all of which muſt neceſſarily be greatly endangered, if not utterly loſt, had he taken upon himſelf any public office in thoſe turbulent times.

4. By this means he preſerved his power, intereſt, and veneration among all parties, and was able to do better offices with the prevailing party, for the ſafeguard and preſervation of good men, than if he had borne the greateſt offices, and with the beſt applauſe in the city of Rome, as appears by the hiſtory of his life.

CHAP. X.

THE EXPEDIENT THAT ATTICUS USED TO PRESERVE HIMSELF, WAS, THE AVOIDING OF ALL THOSE OCCASIONS THAT MIGHT PROCURE UNTO HIM EMULATION OR ENVY.

THE fifth remedy that he uſed againſt the danger of tumultuous times, was, to avoid with all care all ſuch things as might procure an exile, envy, or emulation againſt him.

This appears already in part, by his declining of offices, of honour, of power and profit; but I ſhall give this as a diſtinct conſideration, becauſe I ſhall evidence it with farther inſtances.

When he was at Athens, he was ſolicited to accept of honourable employments: but although, as a private man, he did them all the friendly offices he could, yet he refuſed their public honours; they then deſired that he would be enrolled as a free citizen of Athens; but this he alſo refuſed, as knowing it would be interpreted to be a deſerting of his native city of Rome, and might procure enemies, or at leaſt envy: they alſo ſolicited him, that his ſtatue might be ſet up

up at Athens, among their worthies and benefactors; but this alſo he would by no means allow of, for the ſame reaſon; although, after his receſs from that city, the citizens, notwithſtanding his refuſal, did in his abſence ſet up his ſtatue.

And this refuſing of this piece of pageantry, namely, the public ſetting up of his ſtatue or picture, though it ſeems a ſmall matter, was ſurely an act of great prudence; for he that allows the ſetting up of his ſtatue or picture, firſt, draws upon himſelf much envy: other perſons that have not the ſame honour done them, malign him that hath it, as having that piece of public favour done him, which another thinks he as well at leaſt deſerves.

2. It gives unſeen detractions or cenſure, expoſing to every man's eye that object that adminiſters occaſion of cenſure; this is that man's ſtatue, that did ſuch an injury, that committed ſuch an error or overſight: ſo it becomes a monument of ſo much more diſadvantage to the prototype, by how much men are more apt to take notice of, and remember the evils, than the good of any perſon. 3. If that ſtate or city take up any diſtaſte againſt the perſon, the poor ſtatue commonly receives the public contumely, and the man is proſecuted in effigy; he hath committed a *depoſitum* unto that ſtate or city, that muſt engage him to their perpetual ſervice and pleaſing of them, or in default thereof, to be the ſubject of their contumely or public indignity in effigy.

When he came back to Rome, beſides his refuſal of public and honourable offices, he kept himſelf in the ſtate of a private gentleman; and notwithſtanding the acceſs of a fair eſtate from his uncle Cæcilius, he never exceeded his former charge or method of houſe-keeping; indeed he thereupon enlarged his private liberality and beneficence to perſons that ſtood in need thereof; but he did not at all thereupon advance the port or equipage of his houſe-keeping or manner of living; his houſe was plain, though noble; and he never would by new building, make it ſtately or ſplendid, but contented himſelf with it as he found it: and although he were rich, yet to avoid the glory of being ſaid to be a great purchaſer, he never would make any new purchaſes, but kept the poſſeſſions which were left him by his father and uncle; well knowing that great purchaſes would make a great noiſe and rumor, occaſion envy, and become but a troubleſome burden and incumbrance, rather than a benefit or advantage in a troubled ſtate.

His money would be a portable commodity for his ſubſiſtence, and ready to ſupply the neceſſities and emergencies of

of himſelf and his friends, when his lands muſt be neceſſarily fixed, and in troubled times might yield him little revenue, and were of neceſſity to abide the ſtorms of that place wherein they lay. In ſhort, he kept ſuch a mediocrity in his houſe, his furniture, his houſehold expences, his entertainments, and the manner of his living, that neither expoſed him to ſcorn on the one hand, nor cenſure, or envy, or imputation of affecting either too much grandeur and popularity, on the other, nor conſumed or waſted his eſtate, but left himſelf in a continual capacity of ſupplying the exigence of his friends, which he juſtly eſteemed the beſt employment of his wealth; and yet he ſo ordered his affairs and expences, with that decency and prudence, that kept him above the imputation of baſeneſs or unworthy parſimony. And by this means he avoided envy on the one hand, and contempt on the other; keeping himſelf in a middle and conſtant conduct between all extremes. It is true, in the latter end of his life, he was, by the importunity of Antonius and Octavius, drawn to match his niece into the family and relation of Octavius, which ſeemed to be a ſtep beyond his degree, and that mediocrity that he uſed and affected in the former courſe of his life: but it was not a thing ſought by him, but from him, the great triumviri of Rome being ambitious of his affinity, whom they very well knew to be a man of as great intereſt, and eſteem, and power in the city of Rome, as any private perſon could poſſibly be; and that intereſt, eſteem, and power bottomed upon as firm a baſis as could poſſibly be expected; namely, the native and experimented prudence and worth of the man: and therefore they thought, that whatever mutability of fortune their high flying attempts might meet with, yet they had, by this affinity with Atticus, a more firm intereſt in Rome, than if they had matched their relations into the family of a commander of an army of forty thouſand men. Beſide all this, he was rich, and might probably leave a fair fortune, which he accordingly did. And laſtly, the times now ſeemed pretty well ſettled; the triumvirate of Antonius, Octavius, and Lepidus had maſtered all oppoſition; and although there afterwards broke out wars between Octavius and Antony, yet that was not long before Atticus's death; and as he was not likely to live to ſee thoſe eruptions, ſo if he ſhould, he could not probably ſurvive their iſſue; neither did he: for he died the year before the battle of Actium, wherein Antony was overthrown by Octavius: and yet if theſe differences had been in his proſpect,

proſpect, he was reaſonable ſecure againſt whatſoever iſſue ſhould happen in it, both the heads of that faction being his admirers and friends; and his great age giving him the protection and privilege of ſitting ſtill between them.

CHAP. XI.

THE SIXTH EXPEDIENT, THE AVOIDING OF ALL OCCASIONS OF ENMITY FROM ANY.

THE ſixth thing that this wiſe man induſtriouſly avoided, in order to his ſafety, was, all manner of envy from any, and all occaſions and opportunities thereof, that human prudence could poſſibly foreſee.

This hath been in part ſhewn before in the precedent chapters, in his declining of factions, offices, and excitations of envy; but it ſhall be here proſecuted with farther inſtances, that more directly and ſpecifically were ordered againſt this inconvenience; and the former inſtances more eſpecially relate to the avoiding of public differences, and the enmities ariſing by it; but theſe relate to ſuch enmities as concern a man in a private ſtation.

There be theſe enſuing occaſions, that commonly create animoſities and enmities.

1. He that is an accuſer or informer againſt any man for matters of crime or miſdemeanor, makes the party accuſed, and all his relations, his enemies; nay, though he do it but as an advocate. I do verily believe, that the ſharpneſs of Tully's tongue in his declamations, though it procured him ſome friends, it created him many more enemies, that did ſit cloſe upon him when they had opportunity; though the occaſion of his ruin, was his public action: but Atticus was ever careful to avoid this.

He never would be an accuſer of any, either as party or advocate, nor ſubſcribe any public accuſation.

2. A ſecond thing that creates enemies, is litigiouſneſs, contention, and going to law for every trifle: this excellent man did with that prudence order his affairs, that the author of his life tells us he never had any law-ſuit. His wiſdom was ſuch, that it prevented him from great or waſting injuries: and his goodneſs was ſuch, that he rather forgave injuries of a leſs magnitude, than proſecuted the wrong-doers: it was one of the great commendations of his life, that he quickly

quickly forgot the injuries that he received, and the kindneſs that he had done.

3. A third thing that creates many enemies, is when a man is farmer or collector of thoſe troubleſome duties, where many are concerned, a publican or farmer of cuſtoms or tolls: for ſuch men are commonly hated by the generality of the people. Now Atticus, although ſome conjectures there are, that he was ſometime farmer of the Vectigalia, yet the writer of his life aſſures us the contrary; or certainly if he were ſo at any time, he quickly left that employment, as a probable root of contentions, and enmity, and animoſity.

4. A fourth thing that creates enemies, is when a man deals much in the goods or lands that are confiſcated by the power of any faction: ſuch confiſcations were frequent in Rome, becauſe the viciſſitudes of the prevalence of factions were frequent; and hither perſons often came, and met with good bargains: but Atticus wholly declined thoſe public markets, not only becauſe it would be a mark of a covetous mind, but becauſe he knew that the former owners would bear a ſecret indignation and enmity againſt the purchaſers and poſſeſſors of their goods; and ſuch purchaſes carried with them a clear evidence that the purchaſers approved the party and violences of thoſe men that thus confiſcated and expoſed ſuch goods to ſale; and it was againſt the principles of Atticus, to give ſo much countenance or credit to the proceedings of any of thoſe factions.

5. A fifth thing that often creates men trouble, eſpecially in a troubled ſtate, is the too much prodigality of ſpeech. An over-free, inconſiderate commendation of ſome perſons of one party, or too liberal invectives or cenſures of the perſons engaged in another, create oftentimes enemies, and give a man a blow when he hath forgot it, or thinks not of it; ſome enemy of a perſon commended, or friend of the perſon cenſured, oftentimes reporting to the diſadvantage of the firſt ſpeaker: in this kind Atticus was very wary; he was not liberal of his tongue either in praiſes or diſpraiſes of this or that party, or the perſons concerned in it: and if any time he commended any perſon, it was upon the account of his due perſonal worth and virtue, without contemplation or reſpect of parties, or the concerns thereof.

Pride and haughtineſs of deportment do infallibly create more enemies than any one diſtemper beſides, and indeed is commonly the root of all contentions and animoſities both in public and in private perſons. A proud man in effect reſiſteth all men, and therefore doth either neceſſitate, or at leaſt

leaſt engage all men to oppoſe him, and become his enemy: but herein was Atticus's great wiſdom, that in his whole courſe of life, he always kept an humble mind, and an humble deportment: when he lived at Athens, our author tells us, *ſic ſe gerebat ut communis infimis par principibus videretur; ex quo factum eſt ut huic omnes honores quos poſſent publicè haberent*[1]: the like was his deportment at Rome. And certainly this humility of mind, and deportment, and freeneſs from all manner of pride, brought him very great advantage; for it kept him in a true eſtimate and judgment of things. Pride and vain-glory blind the judgment; humility, and lowlineſs, render every thing in its true and juſt eſtimate and value.

2. It kept him in great tranquillity of mind, as well as of life; it is not poſſible for any man to ſuffer ſo much torture and vexation from all the affronts and injuries without, as from a proud heart that galleth and vexeth itſelf, when it cannot have its will; but an humble man in all ſtates and conditions ſtands ſquare upon his own baſis, without any great diſorder or perturbation.

3. By this means he greatly ſecured his own ſafety in public dangers; for by reaſon of his humble deportment, he got but few enemies; and if there were any ſuch, this humble carriage either melted them into friends, or gave that relaxation and abatement to their fervour and animoſity, that they never attempted to hurt him, though poſſibly the prevalence of a faction wherein they were parties, gave them opportunity.

And yet though his deportment were full of humility and condeſcenſion, yet it was not without a becoming gravity and grandeur, whereby, though he was affable and cheerful, yet he rendered not himſelf cheap and contemptible; ſo that, as the author tells us, it was a hard thing to tell, whether the very ſame men did more love or fear him.

And certainly this part of Atticus's management was a ſingular means of his ſafety, and an excellent indication of his prudence, eſpecially in troubleſome and difficult times; namely, a wiſe and circumſpect avoiding of making enemies. It is the common folly of men great in place, power or wealth, to think themſelves above the reach of enemies, of the meaner ſort eſpecially; and therefore they care not how many they diſoblige by their inſolence,

[1] "He carried himself ſo that he ſeemed common to the loweſt, and "yet equal to the chiefeſt; whereby it came to paſs that they publicly "heaped upon him all the honours they could."

ſcorns, injuries, or neglects: this is a piece of great weakneſs and folly; for it is a certain truth, that there is no man, though never ſo mean, but once in ſeven years will have an opportunity to do the greateſt man much good or much harm. When the mouſe troubled the ſleeping lion, and diſturbed him, and happened to fall under his paw, he deſired the lion to ſpare him, he was but a mouſe, and yet might live poſſibly to do him a kindneſs; but howſoever was not worth his indignation: the mouſe afterwards ſerved to eat aſunder that net that entangled the lion, and ſo deliver him, that for all his greatneſs, could not deliver himſelf. Kindneſs, and affability, and gentleneſs are but cheap and eaſy things, and as eaſily exerciſed as roughneſs and acerbity; and when a man can make a friend upon as eaſy terms as he can make an enemy, he is imprudent if he do the latter; for a mean friend may be able ſometimes to do a great kindneſs to a great man, and a little enemy may have an opportunity to do a great miſchief.

In tumultuous times an ordinary common ſoldier is maſter of another man's life and eſtate, either in the unbridled rage of a ſtorm, or by a falſe accuſation: he therefore that means to ſit ſafe in ſtormy times, muſt be careful, with Atticus, to avoid the making of enemies, even in his private ſtation, as well as in his public, and muſt never think any perſon ſo deſpicable, but that he may ſome way or other, or at ſome time or other, do him a miſchief; and therefore muſt never unneceſſarily provoke any, or make him an enemy, if he can fairly avoid it.

And theſe are the principal things obſervable in the life of Atticus, which he principally avoided in order to his ſafety and tranquillity in troubleſome times.

CHAP. XII.

THE CONSIDERATION OF THE THINGS THAT ATTICUS DID, IN ORDER TO HIS SAFETY AND SECURITY AGAINST THE DANGERS AND TROUBLES OF THE TIMES; AND FIRST, TOUCHING HIS CHARITY, BOUNTY, AND LIBERALITY.

I HAVE done with thoſe things which this wiſe man avoided in order to his ſafety in troubleſome times. I come now to the things he did; which as they were worthy and honourable in themſelves, ſo they were the great means of his ſafety and preſervation.

In

In the precedent chapter, I ſhewed his prudence and induſtry to avoid making himſelf enemies; this was that he conſtantly avoided: But he did not only avoid the procuring of enemies, but was prudent and wiſe in making very many friends; this conduced greatly to his ſafety and preſervation.

And the means whereby he thus made ſo many his friends, was his liberality, beneficence, and bounty, eſpecially to thoſe in diſtreſs.

But although the ſafety that he had, was partly the conſequence of his many friends that he procured, and the beneficence that he uſed, was one great means of procuring friends; yet herein conſiſted the excellence of the man, that he was not bountiful and beneficent upon the bare account of procuring friends, or by them to ſecure his ſafety: but the principle of his beneficence was higher and nobler than his own intereſt and ſafety; for it aroſe from the nobleneſs of his diſpoſition, and was a certain native generoſity and beneficence to mankind, that prevailed upon him to be grateful to thoſe that did him kindneſs; bountiful to thoſe he loved, compaſſionate to thoſe in miſery, and beneficent to mankind in general: indeed the conſequence and effect of this goodneſs was the multiplication of friends, and his ſecurity in times of danger. But that was not the great wheel that moved him to it, but the admirable conſtitution and habit of his mind, which would have rendered him ſuch, though there had neither been friends nor ſafety acquired by it: for he had a ſelf-contentation in the egreſſes of his own bounty and goodneſs, though it had never reflected to his own honour, ſafety, or advantage.

And this is the more evident, for that the inſtances of his liberality and beneficence were moſt frequent and eminent towards ſuch as were in greateſt diſtreſs, and below the expectation of ever making a retribution: whereby, as our author tells us, it was evident that neither hopes nor fears, nor ſelf-ends or advantage, were the motives of his liberality, but the virtue, goodneſs, and beneficence of his nature and ſoul.

But becauſe if his beneficence had been ſingly to any one ſingle party or faction, or only to that faction that were undermoſt, it might have been interpreted a ſecret compliance with them, and adherence to them, and ſo rendered him ſuſpected to thoſe that attained the upper hand, he ſo wiſely ordered his charity and beneficence to the oppreſſed, that at the ſame time he alſo liberally preſented the victors;

and thoſe things he did not poorly and ſneakingly, but boldly and openly, that the oppreſſed might ſee he countenanced not their cauſe, but regarded their wants; and the victors might ſee he durſt do good to the neceſſitous, though their enemies; and all the world might ſee that his charity and goodneſs was directed to the human nature, not to encourage or flatter factions: ſome inſtances hereof are given in the hiſtory of his life.

When Marius was declared an enemy to the ſtate, he aſſiſted him with neceſſaries in his flight; and when Sylla, a declared enemy by Marius, viſited Atticus at Athens, he entertained him with honour and reſpect.

When Pompey was hardly beſet by the power of Cæſar, he ſupplied him and his aſſiſtants with money for their ſupport; and yet at the ſame time ſupplied Cæſar and his followers with money for their wants.

When Brutus and his aſſiſtants were oppreſſed by the power of Antony, he ſupplied them with neceſſaries: and when afterwards it was Antony's fate to be declared a public enemy, and his condition ſeemed deſperate, inſomuch that the very friends of Antony turned bitter enemies of Antony's family, he then undertook the patronage and protection of the family of Antony, relieved and ſupported Fulvia, the wife of Antony, and Volumnius, one of his family, and ſtood between them and the violence uſed againſt them, and ſupplied them with neceſſaries.

And in this liberality and beneficence of Atticus theſe things are very obſervable.

1. That it was full of ſincerity and integrity; his greateſt bounty and erogations commonly employed upon thoſe that were not in any likelihood of making him any return; ſuch were his diſtribution of corn among the poor at Athens, his relief of Marius, Pompey, Brutus, and the family of Antony, when they were at the loweſt, and their caſes ſeemingly deſperate; *nec deſperatos reliquit.*

2. That it was full of equality and impartial: if Brutus were in diſtreſs, he relieved him; if Antony, though of a contrary faction, were in diſtreſs, he relieved him: his liberality was not *intuitu partis*, or governed by regard to any particular faction; but *intuitu humani generis*, a common benignity to human nature, that whatſoever the party was, yet if he were in diſtreſs, he had the experience of his bounty. And upon the obſervation hereof, neither party took amiſs what he did for the other, becauſe they found he did the like for them, when their turn was to be lowermoſt.

moſt. And indeed the viciſſitudes of the ſucceſſes of the factions of Marius and Sylla had made all parties wiſe, ſo that they became pretty well contented to find ſuch a common promptuary and treaſury of beneficence, which though their ſuppreſſed adverſary now taſted, might be of equal advantage to them at the next turn of fortune.

3. That it was full of ſingular prudence: Pompey and his party were in ſome diſtreſs; he relieved them; Cæſar wanted not his relief; yet Atticus preſents him liberally; this was not to bribe each party; but it was to give aſſiſtance to their neceſſities: Cæſar no leſs honoured him than Pompey. And by theſe prudent contemporations he made his liberality ſafe, and gave aſſurance to all parties, that the bounty to either party, was not a compliance with parties, but an excellent beneficence to mankind in general.

And therefore when either party ſolicited him to any thing that ſavoured of the countenance of a faction, he conſtantly declined it; as when Sylla perſuaded him to go with him to Italy, and the party of Brutus ſolicited him to contribute to a private treaſury for Brutus, and Pompey endeavoured to draw him to his army. By all which, all parties and all men were fully ſatisfied that the bounty of Atticus was not in contemplation of factions, or for private deſigns or ends, but the emanation of a noble and benign ſoul, full of rivers of goodneſs, clemency, and beneficence.

And now we will a little conſider the ſingular effects that this beneficence, liberality, and charity, had in all the ſucceſſes of his life.

1. By this means he removed out of the minds of all men all that envy which commonly waits upon wealthy men; for he was ſo true a ſteward, and generous diſpenſer of wealth he had, that no man envied his riches, but wiſhed it more: for they well knew that when their misfortunes or neceſſities made them ſtand in need of relief, he was ready to diſpoſe of it for their ſupply.

2. There is nothing in the world renders a man more popular and beloved of all; and ſo it made him.

And although popularity is a dangerous thing in a ſtate, when it meets in an ambitious ſpirit, yet it is ſafe and deſirable when found in a good, and peaceable, and wiſe man.

3. This liberality or bounty was ſo diffuſive, that it exceedingly multiplied his friends. Every man that had taſted of his bounty, became his friend and advocate; inſomuch

that there was no one party or faction in Rome, but had a conſiderable perſon of it obliged unto Atticus, by his benefits, whereby it came to paſs that in all the revolutions and viciſſitudes of ſucceſſes of conteſting factions, he never wanted ſome conſiderable perſons in power, that were ſtudious of ſerving him and his friends, and were his advocates, if he had occaſion.

4. Conſequently this bounty and liberality of Atticus was one of the great inſtruments of ſafety in all thoſe various revolutions that happened in Rome during his life. This was one thing that rendered Atticus ſo ſafe, and ſo acceptable to Cæſar, after his return victor over Pompey: the kindneſs and liberality which he ſhewed to the family and relations of Antony in his diſtreſs, was that which rendered him ſo acceptable to Antony, at his return victor over Brutus; that while thouſands were baniſhed or deſtroyed, and Cicero himſelf ſlain in the rage of that revolution, Atticus was protected and highly favoured; inſomuch that he obtained protection not only for himſelf, but divers of his friends that were in the black liſt of death, confiſcation, or baniſhment, as appears at large in the hiſtory of his life.

It is true that this expedient of ſafety is not exerciſeable by men of mean fortunes, neither is it needful for them; men of low condition have much of their ſecurity in times of common diſtraction, from that which ordinarily miſtaken men account a piece of miſery or infelicity, namely, their poverty; ſuch be below the ſtorms and tempeſts in a ſtate, they blow over them, and rarely hurt them, unleſs they are over buſy or wilfully entangle themſelves in them: but wealth and greatneſs ſtand in the eye of troubles and ſtorms of this nature, becauſe it commonly invites every neceſſitous or ambitious man to make ſuch the prize of rapine; and therefore the wiſdom of this man that was wealthy and eminent, is more conſpicuous, in that he enjoyed his peace together with his wealth, and ſo prudently managed the latter, that he ſecured the former; and yet without any enormous detriment or waſting of his wealth, while he wiſely placed ſuch part thereof that he could reaſonably ſpare, and hereby ſecured both himſelf and a fair competency of the reſt.

And theſe were the effects of this excellent man's bounty and liberality, which always returned with great advantage to his honour and ſafety.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

THE SECOND THING WHICH ATTICUS DID IN ORDER WHEREBY HE SECURED HIMSELF.

THE ſecond obſervable in the practice of Atticus, was his conſtancy to his friends under all conditions; whereby he never ceaſed to do them all offices of kindneſs and beneficence, were their fortunes never ſo low and deſperate.

Marius, though a turbulent perſon, yet was perſonally the friend of Atticus, and his ſon bred up at ſchool with him; when the father fled from Rome, he ſupplied him with neceſſaries in his flight.

Pompey was a friend of Atticus, and in his diſtreſs Atticus ſupplied him liberally in his neceſſities.

Brutus was a familiar acquaintance of Atticus, and when he was forced to deſert Rome, he ſupplied him in his ſtraits and neceſſities with money, and after the battle at Philippi, where Brutus was ſlain, maintained Servilla his mother, and uſed his intereſt with Antony, and procured the liberty of many of his friends that were taken after that battle, as Gellius, Canius, Julius Canidius, and others; the like he did after the battle of Philippi, for Julius Morilla the Pretor, Aulus Torquatus, and the ſon of Quintius his brother-in-law, and others of his friends that were engaged in the quarrel and misfortune of Pompey: thus he always improved his intereſt that he had in Julius Cæſar, Antony, and the other heads of great factions in Rome, when the victory fell on their ſide, not to make himſelf rich or great, but to deliver his friends from the common calamities that befell them in the fall of that party wherein they were unhappily engaged: only the ruin of Cicero was ſo ſudden, that it prevented the interceſſion of Atticus in his behalf.

Neither can I omit that admirable piece of fidelity to his friends, and yet that admirable prudence, that though it fell out oftentimes that many of his friends were engaged in oppoſite factions, and extreme animoſities and irreconcileable differences, yet ſo he ordered the matter, that he kept an intimate friendſhip with them all, correſponded with them all, and had the entire love and ſervice of them all, without any breach of friendſhip, or incurring the diſpleaſure or jealouſy of any of them, or of their relations. Marius

was his friend, and ſo was Sylla, and yet engaged in irreconcileable enmity between themſelves. Pompey was his friend, and ſo was Julius Cæſar, yet engaged in deſperate wars each againſt the other. Brutus was his friend, and ſo was Antony, yet mortal enemies one againſt another. Again, Antony was his friend, and ſo was Octavius Cæſar, and yet both implacable enemies to each other. Cicero and Hortenſius the two greateſt maſters of eloquence of Rome, had great emulations between them, and yet notwithſtanding all thoſe bitter and irreconcileable feuds and emulations between theſe friends of Atticus, though he were not able to reconcile their differences, he ſtill kept up an entire friendſhip with them all, correſpond with them by letters, entertainments, and all offices of friendſhip with them all, was bountiful to them all, relieved them all, in the viciſſitudes of their exigencies and misfortunes, and kept himſelf yet free from engaging in their differences, nor rendered himſelf ſuſpected to either party. They all knew his integrity and his wiſdom, and were abundantly ſatisfied that his friendſhip and beneficence to either party, were acts of pure and generous goodneſs, and not leavened, or tainted, or ſtained with baſe ends, or hopes, or deſigns. And this fidelity and conſtancy to his friends, cauſed all men to love and honour him, and to deſire his friendſhip, and engaged his friends in great firmneſs and fidelity to him. And this among all the reſt of his honeſt and prudent managements, was a great ſecurity to him: for, as before I obſerved, his friends were hereby ſo multiplied and increaſed, that there was not, nor indeed could be any party in Rome, but had a conſiderable number of the friends of Atticus, whom he had formerly engaged by great benefits mingled with it, which were as ſo many protectors, or at leaſt advocates and inſtruments of his ſafety and preſervation upon any revolutions that happened, or could happen in the city or ſtate of Rome.

CHAP. XIV.

THE THIRD EXPEDIENT CONDUCING TO THE SAFETY OF ATTICUS; HIS ADMIRABLE MODERATION AND EQUALITY OF MIND AND ACTIONS.

ONE of the greateſt enemies to any man's peace and ſafety, is the immoderation and exceſs of paſſion which ordinarily carries

carries men into exceſſes and extremes, and creates to a man enemies and troubles if it find none; tranſports men beyond the bounds of wiſdom or reaſon; ſometimes it breaks out into rude, harſh and offenſive actions, ſometimes into provoking and irritating ſpeeches, and always diſorders the judgment, and brings precipitation and inadvertence into the actions; but our worthy perſon was quite of another make; he governed his paſſions, and thereby governed his actions and ſpeeches, was deliberate, and conſiderate, and of great moderation: he was not preſently tranſported to love and admire every man that either did him a kindneſs, or was great in the commonwealth; he underſtood and weighed wherein their ends and deſigns lay: neither was he preſently tranſported with hatred and indignation of every perſon that was voted an enemy by the ſenate; he allowed ſomething in thoſe ſentences to the paſſions, intereſts and ends of perſons, parties and factions: though he was an enemy to faction in the ſtate, yet he did not preſently conclude that all the men that were engaged in a party, were enemies to the commonwealth; he conſidered that ſome might mean well, and were ignorant of the deſigns and ends of thoſe that commonly governed the party; who like a prevailing humour or diſtemper, many times carried weak or well-meaning men beyond their intentions, and therefore he was not of that common humor of the vulgar, whereof it is ſaid,

Sequitur fortunam ſemper; & odit Damnatos[1].

And therefore, as on the one ſide he was not cheated into the parties by the goodly pretences of them that raiſed or managed them; ſo he was not tranſported with hatred and deteſtation of all that were of them: as he had his allay that made him not over credulous of the former, ſo he had an allowance of charity and gentleneſs for the latter; where he was moderate in his cenſures of them and their proceedings, left ſtill a room for their relief in their neceſſities, and for an interceſſion for mercy for them, with thoſe in power.

He looked upon the commotions in the ſtate of both ſides to be but the product of faction, a diſeaſe and diſtemper, not the true temperament and complexion of the ſtate, and therefore in the colliſion of factions, he did not preſently judge that the beſt that prevailed, nor that the worſt that was ſuppreſſed; they had each their errors, and faults, and miſchiefs to the commonwealth, which poſ-

[1] He always joins with the fortunate and opposes the unpopular.

ſibly

ſibly were in themſelves equal, notwithſtanding the diſcrimination of the ſucceſs: and therefore he did not preſently fall in with the prevailing party, and adore it, nor deny thoſe meaſures of charity to the adverſe party, which he uſed to deal to them in diſtreſs; poſſibly he thought them not leſs innocent than the former, though leſs fortunate, and therefore eſteemed them much as one in their merit or rather demerit; only the diſtreſſed ſtood more in need of his charity than the victors, and therefore they had more of it.

Again, when he ſaw the rage and fury, and proſcriptions, and condemnations that the conquering party uſed againſt thoſe that had been engaged on the other ſide, though he hated and deteſted that cruelty and fierceneſs that he ſaw exerciſed by citizens of the ſame commonwealth and city, againſt their fellow-citizens, as breaches not only of the bonds of civil ſociety, but as invaſions upon humanity itſelf; yet he ſtill governed himſelf with that moderation, as not to fall foul upon the victors with public invectives and philippics: for he well knew that would but irritate and provoke their rage, and poſſibly diſable him to do thoſe offices of kindneſs for his friends that fell under the power of the victors: and beſides, experience of the viciſſitudes of ſucceſſes in adverſe factions, had well aſſured him that it was the common method of whichſoever faction prevailed, to uſe all extremities againſt the other: and although this cruel cuſtom did no way juſtify the things they did, nor rendered them excuſable in the judgment of Atticus, yet it gave a little allay to the cenſure of their ſeverity, that had the other faction prevailed, they would have done no leſs by them.

And this moderation of Atticus gave him great ſecurity in troubleſome times, procured him friends, kept him conſiderate and circumſpect in all he did, that he never overſhot himſelf with folly, paſſion, or precipitancy, in words or action.

CHAP. XV.

CONCERNING THE FOURTH EXPEDIENT CONDUCING TO THD SAFETY OF ATTICUS; HIS CONSTANCY.

IF I ſhould follow Atticus through all thoſe expreſſions of his prudence and wiſdom, joined with ſingular virtue and goodneſs

goodneſs, my obſervations would be too voluminous: the truth is, there is ſcarce any one part or paſſage of his life, but deſerves remark. My author truly ſays, *difficile eſt omnia dicere, & non neceſſaria:* I ſhall therefore conclud all with this one obſervation more, namely, his conſtancy.

1. He was conſtant to his friends even in their loweſt and moſt deſperate condition; he ever retained his love to them, and it was not complimental love, but ſuch as expreſſ'd itſelf in real indications, relieving them in their extremities, engaging all his endeavours and intereſt for their deliverance out of dangers, and never giving over his endeavours till he effected what was poſſible for their good and ſafety.

2. He was conſtant to his mode and faſhion of life; he lived in the ſame houſe, without any conſiderable alteration, he kept the ſame equipage, notwithſtanding the increaſe and acceſs of his fortune; the ſame rules and obſervances in his houſehold, his entertainments, his houſe-keeping, *pari faſtigio ſtetit in utraque fortuna.*

3. He was conſtant to his principles; what he once was, he always was; and what he once practiſed, he always practiſed; he uſed the ſame moderation and equality, the ſame juſtice and integrity, the ſame quietneſs and evenneſs of mind, the ſame virtue and goodneſs, the ſame piety and honour to his parents, the ſame humility and affability, the ſame gravity and decency, the ſame compaſſion to the afflicted, the ſame bounty and liberality to all; and no variation of ſucceſſes or fortunes, no diſlikes or diſtaſtes of other men, no hopes, no fears, no perſuaſions, no ſiniſter ends or deſigns, could ſhake him from his principles, or unſettle him from his baſis of honour or virtue, upon which he ſtood fixed, ſquare and unmoveable. And therefore when Antony was in his loweſt condition, declared an enemy to the ſtate; Brutus and Caſſius in the vogue and eſteem in Rome, and ſeemed to ride upon the ſtrength of the common breath of popular applauſe, and yet in this condition of affairs, Atticus aſſiſted and protected the family of Antony with his money and intereſt, in their loweſt and deplorable condition: and when the great men of the time began to look ſour upon him, and complained, *quod parum odiſſe malos cives videretur*, 'that he was too favourable to the public enemies of the ſtate', yet he continued conſtant in his way, and as our author tells us, rather thought it honour for him to do, than what others would commend.

And certainly this conſtancy of Atticus to his friends, to

to himſelf, to his principles, was not only his honour but his ſafety; all the world looking upon him as a common benefactor to human nature, not changed nor ſhaken from his goodneſs by any variety of fortune. A man that is unſtable or tottering, is loved by no man, becauſe he is not fit to be truſted; but a man conſtant to worthy and generous principles, retains the like conſtancy of eſteem and veneration from all men, and, together with his honour, and eſteem, and worth, commonly retains his ſafety and ſecurity in public concuſſions.

And thus I have gathered out of the hiſtory of the life of Atticus ſuch things as ſeemed to me the great means of his unexampled peace, ſafety, honour, tranquillity, and happineſs, in a continued ſeries of incomparable and matchleſs concuſſions and ſtorms in the Roman ſtate; I ſhall conclude with theſe few general obſervations upon his life, and with ſome cautions touching it. The obſervations are theſe:

1. That moſt certainly virtue, goodneſs, and integrity is the beſt policy and greateſt means of ſafety in the moſt dangerous times and places.

2. That moſt certainly virtue, and goodneſs, and integrity is the trueſt way for any man to gain true honour, veneration, and eſteem among men; it is more conducible than riches, and armies, and triumphs, and victories.

3. That as it is the trueſt way to get honour, ſo it is the beſt means to keep it, becauſe ſuch an honour hath not its dependence upon any thing without a man; his fortune, wealth, power, or ſucceſs, theſe are changeable and variable; but a good, wiſe, virtuous man carries the root and ſpring of his honour in himſelf; he ſhall never ceaſe to be honoured till he ceaſe to be good.

4. That there is a ſecret veneration of goodneſs and virtue in all men, even in the worſt and vileſt; a man cannot ſo far put off humanity, but that goodneſs, wiſdom, and virtue will have ſo much of party and intereſt in his nature, that he cannot chooſe but pay a ſecret approbation, veneration, and eſteem to thoſe that have it.

5. That conſequently wiſdom, beneficence, virtue, and goodneſs have a great connaturality to human nature, and are the true genuine ſpirit or genius of it, and that it is ſo, is evident, 1. By the great good it procures to human nature, honour, and ſafety; and 2. by the great eſteem that mankind hath of it, and the common intereſt it maintains in the common nature of mankind.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

TOUCHING CERTAIN CAUTIONS TO BE USED IN THE OBSERVATION AND IMITATION OF THE LIFE OF ATTICUS, IN PUBLIC COLLISIONS OF FACTIONS.

WE have ſeen in the former diſcourſe not only the ſingular virtue and goodneſs of Atticus, but alſo his admirable ſafety in times of public factions and commotions in the ſtate of Rome.

And yet we may obſerve in his life ſome things practiſed by him with great ſucceſs and ſecurity, which yet were things of great danger and hazard, and poſſibly ſuch as may not be undertaken or adventured upon by others, and exceed the limits of common example. When a perſon is by the lawful ſupreme authority of a ſtate or country declared a public enemy, or a traitor, proſcribed or baniſhed, ordinarily common humanity of all ſtates allows of relief and ſupport to his wife, children, family, ſervants, and dependents, but for the moſt part (if not always) forbids ſupplies to be ſent to the perſon thus proſcribed, or declared an enemy, or any communication or converſe with him; becauſe though poſſibly it may be all done upon a perſonal account, and *intuitu perſonæ*, without reſpect to his condition in relation to the public; yet it cannot chooſe but be a ſupport to him, and a countenance of him, whereby he may be enabled to gather new ſupplies, or at leaſt courage or encouragement for farther attempts to the promoting of his faction, party, or deſigns. And although in the Roman ſtate thoſe declarations of enemies, whether Marcus, or Sylla, or Brutus, or Antony, or Pompey, or Cæſar, were obtained by the prevalence and ſolicitation of the adverſe party or faction, and were in a manner extorted from the ſenate and people; yet it is plain, that according to the conſtitution of the Roman republic, the ſupreme authority was lodged in the ſenate, or ſenate and people; and therefore the public acts, decrees, or laws made by them were in force till repealed by the like ſolemnity or authority, though perchance at firſt unduly obtained. For ſuch veneration is neceſſarily due to laws or conſtitutions enacted by the full, ſupreme, legiſlative, legal power, according to the true conſtitution of the civil government, that they are not to be reſcinded by private perſons, upon their pretence of being unduly obtained, till they are regularly avoided by the like legal power by which they were enacted or inſtituted.

And

And therefore a private (ſuch as Atticus was, or any other might be) that ſhould go about to relieve and ſupply Marius or Sylla, Pompey or Julius Cæſar, Brutus or Antony, Octavius or Lepidus, while they were under theſe public declarations or proſcriptions, by the civil power of the Roman ſtate, according to the ſettled laws of that ſtate, muſt needs be under a violation of the law, and ſubjected to the danger and inconvenience that ariſeth from violations of public laws. Beſides, it may ſeem this liberty taken by Atticus of relieving perſons thus declared enemies to the commonwealth, and holding ſuch intimate correſpondence with them, neither became a good citizen nor a good man, which according to the old ſtandard of the Roman morals, was,

Qui conſulta patrum, qui leges juraque ſervat [1].

And therefore though the general ſcheme of the life of Atticus afford a prudent and good example of imitation, eſpecially in the like ſtate of affairs, yet it were hard to make him a pattern of imitation in this particular of his ſupplies of enemies, ſo publicly declared by the true ſupreme power of the Roman ſtate, (I ſay the true ſupreme power of the Roman ſtate) nor in his correſpondence with them. For it is ſo far from proving a man's ſafety, that, according to the uſual methods and laws of government, it expoſeth a man to the greateſt danger, and that even by the law itſelf.

What Atticus therefore did in this kind, is ſingular and ſcarce compatible to another perſon, becauſe it is hardly poſſible that any other perſon could be under the ſame circumſtances with Atticus when he uſed this practice, and therefore that which he did in this kind with ſafety, yea and honour to himſelf, may not be ventured upon by any perſon that ſtands otherwiſe circumſtantiated, and ſtudies his ſafety.

Although the Roman ſtate were ſevere enough in prohibiting ſupplies to their foreign enemies, or holding correſpondence, or *clandeſtina cum hoſtibus colloquia*, yea and had and uſed the like ſtrictneſs in relation to thoſe mutinies, or conſpiracies, or rebellions immediately or directly levelled againſt the ſtate or commonwealth itſelf; as in the conjuration of Catiline, their *bella ſervilia* with their ſlaves, and the like; yet it ſhould ſeem at this time they had not that ſtrict animadverſion againſt the diſſenting parties or factions, which though they were bitter and cruel one towards

[1] Who reſpects the laws and conſtitution of the ſtate.

towards another, yet they all pretended a common love and care of the commonwealth or government clofely; and each party poffibly at fometimes might really intend the profperity and advancement thereof, though the means whereby they attempted it proved pernicious to that end.

2. Again, and principally, although by the power and induftry of a prevailing faction the fenate and people were oftentimes brought to countenance them with a decree or law in their favour, and with a profeription or declaration to the difadvantage of the adverfe party, yet every body knew that it was but a kind of forced compliance by the true body of the fenate or people, and that the concern lay merely between the parties litigant, and not fo much in the true genius of the Roman government, which would have been glad to have been free from both the competitors. And therefore the animadverfions and feverities ufed againft either party, though they were oftentimes great and cruel, yet were not fo much from the temper of the Roman government, as from the diftemper, jealoufy, animofity, and hatred, between the contending parties themfelves: and therefore they that fuffered, looked upon their fufferings not as fo much the exertions of the juftice of the Roman ftate, as the violence of the prevailing party.

3. Again, the various fucceffes that thofe factions and their heads and parties had in the common experience, and in their fucceffes, feemed by degrees to make men fenfible, that a good man and beneficent was neceffary to be protected, becaufe no party knew whether it might not fhortly be his turn to make ufe of his beneficence: fo that a man not addicted to either faction as a party in it, was by a kind of tacit compact free from animadverfion or punifhment for his affiftance to the oppreffed; and was fpared in thefe public concuffions, as temples or facred places are in time of public hoftility.

4. But again, Atticus had given in the whole courfe of his life moft certain and infallible indications that he did not, would not engage in either party or faction, and that he did with an equal indifferency fupply the neceffities, and endeavour to remove the calamities of any of what party foever he was; and bare a fair and equal refpect to all of what party foever, whether of the party of Marius or Sylla, of Cæfar or Pompey, of Brutus or Antony; by all which all men concluded him to be a common friend to mankind; but no fomenter, or encourager, or maintainer of any faction. And it is fcarce poffible for any other man to have all

all theſe happy circumſtances to contribute to that common good opinion that all parties, yea all men had of Atticus; whereby it came to paſs that theſe ſupplies and correſpondencies that he held with the ſeveral engaged parties, never brought him into the danger or ſuſpicion of being a promoter or favourer of their factions, or to render thoſe his acts of humanity any way unſafe or dangerous to him.

And therefore ſince the danger that might befall Atticus in his relief of thoſe that were declared enemies to the commonwealth, muſt neceſſarily ariſe either from the reſentment of the ſenate and people of Rome, in relieving thoſe they had declared enemies, or from the jealouſy, indignation and animoſity of that party or faction that then obtained, and might be offended at his kindneſs to an adverſe party, he was in both theſe reſpects under a competent degree of ſecurity, notwithſtanding thoſe ſupplies and correſpondencies; for the ſenate and people of Rome, though by the force of a prevailing party they were drawn to, or rather driven to make decrees and declarations in their favour, and againſt the other party; yet in truth they really diſliked both, and would have been glad to be at quiet; and therefore were not over-eager, or buſy, or fierce in proſecuting thoſe that were beneficent to either party, eſpecially if he were no friend to the faction itſelf.

And on the other ſide, the factions themſelves were not over violent in their animadverſion upon Atticus's beneficence to either party, becauſe it was apparent he did it not in contemplation or favour of a faction, but as a common benefactor to men in want and extremity; and ſo between both he eſcaped thoſe ſeverities which poſſibly the rigour of the law might have inflicted upon an aſſiſtant to a declared enemy, or the jealouſy of a prevailing party might have brought upon him.

5. Again, he was a man of that great and deſerved reputation for his prudence, learning, worth, love to his country, liberality, beneficence, ſincerity, that he had a high veneration with all men of all parties and factions; every man thought it a kind of barbarouſneſs and inhumanity to accuſe or injure ſuch a perſon, eſpecially that had ſo obliged all mankind. When a bold tribune did accuſe Scipio Africanus, that great Roman captain, he anſwered his accuſation with no other language, but led the people up to the capitol and other places, where the monuments of his triumphs and benefits to the Roman ſtate gave them the freſh remembrance of his merits, and thereupon the accuſation vaniſhed,

vaniſhed, and the accuſer ſlunk away aſhamed of his attempt. But in all the whole life of Atticus we find not ſo much as any accuſation of him, no not to the heads themſelves of the combating parties. He was ſo much above cenſure, that he never ſo much as fell under any accuſations; which poſſibly may be a privilege that few men living in public concuſſions, and of any eminence, are capable of.

And therefore as this example of the liberality of Atticus to parties obnoxious to a public declaration of being enemies to the ſtate, and his familiarity, intimacy, and correſpondency with them may be a ſignal evidence of his wiſdom, yea and alſo of his fortunate ſucceſs under ſo dangerous adventures; yet it cannot be allowed to be a common example to other perſons to run the like hazard, becauſe it is morally impoſſible they ſhould be under ſuch happy aud beneficial circumſtances in this kind as Atticus was, and therefore cannot expect the like ſucceſs therein as he found.

Indeed if the ſenate and people of Rome that made theſe decrees in favour of thoſe that got into the ſaddle, had been but uſurpers of the ſupreme authority, or had it not been really and legally fixed in them, or had they been a pack of men that had but pretended the ſupreme authority, and the ſtate-power of making laws or politic edicts, proſcriptions, and declarations of this nature, without any legal and true power ſo to do; it had not only been an act of nobleneſs and generoſity, but poſſibly of duty, to have miniſtred relief and ſupply to thoſe that were oppreſſed by them. But the caſe was otherwiſe; the true ſupreme authority of the Roman ſtate was engaged in thoſe edicts and proſcriptions, though drawn thereunto by the power of a prevailing party. And therefore the adventure of Atticus was great in miniſtring ſupplies to thoſe that fell under thoſe ſentences and decrees, though his great wiſdom in managing thereof, the great and public veneration of his goodneſs, and the junctures of the affairs of the Roman ſtate, rendered him ſafe and ſecure from danger under that adventure. And whoſoever ſhall adventure in like manner had need be ſure his circumſtances be the ſame with thoſe of Atticus, and that he hath as good a judgment, yea, and fortune alſo, to diſcern and weather difficulties, as he had, otherwiſe in ſuch adventures he cannot be without great danger.

And as I have added this caution touching the practice of Atticus in his life, ſo there is another caution to be added touching his deportment near his death. It ſeems to me, that his obſtinate reſolution not to take any nouriſhment to preſerve his life, becauſe it would prolong his pain together with his life, was not at all commendable; but as it favoured too much of impatience, unbecoming a philoſopher, ſo it was an act of much wilful imprudence, for the receiving of convenient nouriſhment might prolong his life, and poſſibly abate his pain, But the wilful refuſal of it muſt neceſſarily be (as it was) an immediate cauſe of his death, which he thereby haſtened; and although ſelf-murder was grown too much in faſhion among ſome of the grandees of Rome, as appears by the inſtance of Cato and others, yet certainly it was a practice not only of inhumanity, but of ſo much puſillanimity and impotence of mind, and a miſerably miſtaken choice, to chooſe death, the worſt of evils, rather than endure pain or diſgrace in the world; which a little philoſophy would have taught them to bear with patience rather than to avoid by deſtroying their own lives.

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vention, as it is more chriſtian, ſo it will be more effectual than the prudence of remedy: the prevention of poverty, idleneſs, and a looſe and diſorderly education, even of poor children, would do more good to this kingdom than all the gibbets, and cauterizations, and whipping-poſts, and jails in this kingdom, and would render theſe kinds of diſciplines leſs neceſſary and leſs frequent.

But hitherto I am in generals, which rarely proſper into action of conviction: I therefore ſhall conſider principally theſe things:

1. What proviſions there are already ſettled by the laws in force for the relief and employment of the poor.

2. Wherein the defects are, in relation to thoſe laws or proviſions, and the conſequences thereof.

3. What may be thought a convenient ſupply of thoſe defects, and the conſequences of ſuch ſupplies.

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CHAP. I.

TOUCHING THE LAWS AT PRESENT IN FORCE FOR THE RELIEF AND EMPLOYMENT OF THE POOR.

THE laws relating to the poor are of two kinds, viz. 1. Such as concern the relief of the aged, and impotent, that are not able by their labour to maintain themſelves. 2. Such as concern the employment and ſetting of work of ſuch as are able. And this latter, as ſhall be ſhewn, is the more comprehenſive and beneficial charity, although both are neceſſary and become us, both as men and as chriſtians; much more touching the former of theſe, viz. the relief of the impotent poor, the laws of England have provided a double remedy. Firſt, by giving great encouragement to voluntary undertakings of good and liberal minds in this kind, 2. by compulſory means upon all.

Again as touching the former of theſe, the ſtatute of 39 Eliz. cap. 5. has given a great encouragement to ſuch as ſhall erect hoſpitals, houſes of correction, and *maiſons de dieu*. And the ſtatutes of 39. Eliz. cap. 6. and 43. Eliz. cap. 4. have taken ſpecial care for the due employment of gifts to charitable uſes. And certainly ſuch voluntary aſſignations argue an excellent and charitable mind in thoſe that ſhall ſo voluntarily give; and the ſtatutes have given a fair encouragement to the charities of men in this kind. But this proviſion doth but little in order to relief: for, 1. for the moſt part ſuch hoſpitals extend but to a few aged perſons limited to ſome particular town, unleſs it be in the large hoſpitals in London, where there is ſome proviſion more extenſive in reſpect both of number and age, as St. Thomas's hoſpital, Chriſt Church hoſpital, and ſome others. 2. But beſides this thoſe are but voluntary and not compulſory; although there may be ſome that may be charitably minded, yet for the moſt part men are backward in works of charity;

ſelf-love, covetouſneſs, diſtruſt of the truth and providence of God, keep moſt from overflowing charity of building or endowing hoſpitals.

2. Therefore there was a compulſory laid upon men for the relief of the poor within their reſpective pariſhes, viz. the ſtatute of 43. Eliz. cap. 2. being the firſt compulſory law that I remember of that kind: and indeed it now became neceſſary to be done by a compulſory means which before that time was left more arbitrary, becauſe the kingdom became then much more populous than in former times, and with it the poor alſo greatly increaſed, and beſides many of thoſe methods of their voluntary relief was then much abated; which ſtatute enables the churchwardens and overſeers, &c. to do theſe things:

1. To take order for ſetting to work the children of thoſe whoſe parents are not able to maintain their children.

2. To take order to ſet thoſe to work as, having no means to maintain themſelves, uſe no ordinary trade. But provides not ſufficient compulſories to make them work.

3. To raiſe weekly by taxation a convenient ſtock of flax, hemp, &c. to ſet the poor on work: but no means at firſt, before the return of the manufacture, to pay them wages in expreſs words, but is ſupplied by the latter general clauſe—'And to do and execute all other things, as well for the diſpoſing of the ſaid ſtock, or otherwiſe concerning the premiſes as to them ſhall ſeem convenient.'

4. To raiſe competent ſums of money for the impotent poor not able to work.

5. Alſo for the putting of poor children apprentices, but no compulſory for any to receive them.

Among all theſe proviſions, the 4th concerns the relief of the poor by taxation, and contributes to ſuch as are impotent, the four other particulars concern their employment, and of ſuch as are able to work, which is the far greater number. And although the relief of the impotent poor ſeems to be a charity of more immeditate exigence, yet the employment of the poor is a charity of greater extent, and of very great and important conſequence to the public wealth and peace of the kingdom, as alſo to the benefit and advantage of the poor.

I therefore come to that ſecond buſineſs relating to the poor, viz. the ſetting the poor on work.

The laws that concern that buſineſs of the employment of the poor are of two kinds; viz. that which contains a compulſory means of providing work for the poor, which is the

the ſtatute of 43. Eliz. And ſecondly, thoſe laws which are in ſome kind compulſory to force perſons to work; and theſe are of two kinds, viz.

1. Thoſe that concern children and the binding of them apprentices, viz. the clauſe of the ſtatute 43. Eliz. cap. 4. before mentioned, and the ſtatute 7 Jac. cap. 1. which makes fair proviſion for the raiſing of money to bind them, and directs the manner of its employment. But as before is obſerved, hath not any ſufficient compulſory for perſon to take them, and perchance it might be fit to have ſome ſuch qualifications in that compulſory which might not leave it too arbitrary in the juſtices of the peace to compel whom they pleaſe to take whom they pleaſe: but this is not the buſineſs I drive at, perchance the general proviſion which I deſign may make this at leaſt not ſo frequently neceſſary.

2. In reference to rogues, vagabonds and idle and diſorderly perſons, the ſtatute 7 Jac. cap. 4. gives power, 1. to the juſtices of the peace to ſend them to the houſe of correction, which they are thereby required to cauſe to be erected. 2. Power to the maſter of ſuch houſe of correction to keep them to work.

But even in this particular there are defects. 1. It is not general for all perſons, but at moſt idle and diſorderly perſons. 2. That deſcription is very uncertain in reference to ſuch perſons, and leaves the juſtices either too great or too little power. 3. For want of a convenient ſtock to be raiſed for ſuch houſes of correction, and advantageous ways for ſuch work, it either leaves ſuch as are ſent without an employment, or renders their employment ungrateful in reſpect of the ſmallneſs of the wages, and rather makes people hate employment as a hell then to entertain it as a means of comfortable ſupport; which though it may be well enough as a puniſhment for diſorderly perſons that refuſe to work, yet it is not applicable to thoſe that are only idle, it may be becauſe they have no work: 4. It is a difficult thing to determine who ſhall be ſaid an idle perſon; it is a reaſonable anſwer to that, they are idle for want of ſuch work as they are able to do, or for want of ſuch wages as might give them a reaſonable ſupport; for there is no power given, nor is it reaſonable it ſhould, to compel perſons, to ſet them on work, or to ſet them on work at convenient wages: 5. And laſtly, it is not univerſal; many perſons are not within that law which would work if they might: or if they might at reaſonable rates, whereby they might live. There is need, therefore, of ſome ſuch proviſion that might be as ample as the occaſion

occaſion, and without which indeed all the laws already made are either weak and ineffectual to their ends, and the generality of the poor left deſtitute of a convenient ſupport and proviſion.

CHAP. II.

TOUCHING THE POWER BY THE LAW SETTLED FOR THE GENERAL PROVISION FOR THE POOR, AND THEIR DEFECTS.

UPON the conſideration of the ſtatutes for the poor, the only ſtatute that provides univerſally is that of 43 Eliz. which generally makes two proviſions.

1. For the impotent poor that are not able to work: and it is true is a good and effectual proviſion for ſuch, if duly executed. But, as I ſaid before, the plaiſter is not ſo large as the ſore, there are many poor that are able to work if they had it, and had it at reaſonable wages, whereby they might ſupport themſelves and their families, which oftentimes are many. Theſe are not within the proviſion of the law, and if they come for exhibitions, they are denied, or at leaſt have but very ſmall, and ſuch as cannot ſupport them and their families. And indeed if they ſhould have ſufficient exhibition for the ſupport of them and their families, the pariſhes where they live were not able to ſupply them in a proportion anſwerable to their neceſſities, or anſwerable to that ſupply which a full employment would afford them; for inſtance, a poor man and his wife, though able to work, may have four children, two of them poſſibly able to work, two not able: the father and the mother are not able to maintain themſelves and their family in meat, drink, clothing and houſe rent under ten ſhillings per week, and ſo much they might probably get if employed; this amounts to 26*l. per annum*; if there were forty ſuch families in a great pariſh, and they lived upon this exhibition collected by rates, it would ariſe to above 800*l. per annum*, which in many pariſhes exceeds the yearly value of their lands or rents, yet when theſe perſons are kept on work thus much muſt be gotten by them, and without a ſupply equivalent to this they muſt live by begging, or ſtealing, or ſtarve. Therefore the ſecond proviſion is,

2. For thoſe poor that are able to work, and in reference to

to them it gives power to raiſe ſtocks by rating the parishioners, and ſetting the poor on work.

The defects of this proviſion are,

1. In the execution of the law already made; for let any man look over moſt of the populous pariſhes in England, indeed there are rates made for the relief of the impotent poor, and it may be the ſame relief is alſo given in a narrow meaſure unto ſome others, that have great families, and upon this they live miſerably, and at beſt from hand to mouth, and if they cannot get work to make out their livelihood they and their children ſet up a trade of begging at beſt. But it is rare to ſee any proviſion of a ſtock in any pariſh for the relief of the poor. And the reaſons principally are theſe: 1. The generality of the people that are able are yet unwilling to exceed the preſent neceſſary charge, they do chooſe to live for an hour rather than project for the future; and although poſſibly trebling their exhibition in one groſs ſum at the beginning of the year, to raiſe a ſtock, might in all probability render their future yearly payments for ſeven years together leſs by half or two thirds, than what muſt be without it, yet they had rather continue on their yearly payments, year after year, though it exhauſt them in time, and make the poor nothing the better at the year's end. 2. Becauſe thoſe places, where there are moſt poor, conſiſt for the moſt part of tradeſmen, whoſe eſtates lie principally in their ſtocks, which they will not endure to be ſearched into to make them contributory to raiſe any conſiderable ſtock for the poor, nor indeed ſo much as to the ordinary contributions: but they lay all the rates to the poor upon the rents of lands and houſes, which alone without the help of the ſtocks are not able to raiſe a ſtock for the poor, although it is very plain that ſtocks are as well by law rateable as lands, both to the relief, and raiſing a ſtock for the poor. 3. Becauſe the churchwardens and overſeers, to whom this power is given, are inhabitants of the ſame pariſh, and are either unwilling to charge themſelves or diſpleaſe their neighbours in charging more than they needs muſt towards the poor: and although it were to be wiſhed and hoped, that the juſtices of peace would be forwardly to enforce them if they might, though it may concern them alſo in point of preſent profit, yet if they would do any thing herein, they are not empowered to compel the churchwardens and overſeers to do it, who moſt certainly will never go about it to burthen, as they think, themſelves, and diſpleaſe their neighbours, unleſs

unleſs ſome compulſory power were not only lodged by law, but alſo executed in ſome that may have a power over them to enforce it, or to do it if they do it not, and to do it effectually, if they do it either partially or too ſparingly: 4. Becauſe people do not conſider the inconvenience that will in time grow to themſelves by this neglect, and the benefit that would in a little time accrue to them by putting it in practice if they would have but a little patience, as ſhall be ſhewn hereafter.

2. The ſecond defect is in the law itſelf; which are theſe.

1. No power in the juſtices of the peace, or ſome ſuperintendent power to compel the raiſing of a ſtock where the churchwardens and overſeers neglect it.

2. The act chargeth every pariſh apart where it may be they are able to do little towards it, neither would it be ſo effectual as if three, four, five or more contiguous pariſhes did contribute towards the raiſing of a ſtock proportionable to their poor reſpectively.

3. There is no power for hiring or erecting a common houſe, or place for their common work-houſe, which may be in ſome reſpects, and upon ſome occaſions, uſeful and neceſſary, as ſhall be ſhewn.

CHAP. III.

THE REMEDY PROPOUNDED.

1. THAT the juſtices of the peace at the quarter-ſeſſions do ſet out and diſtribute the pariſhes in their ſeveral counties into ſeveral diviſions, in each of which there may be a work-houſe for the common uſe of the reſpective diviſions, wherein they are reſpectively placed, viz. one, two, three, four, five or ſix pariſhes to a work-houſe, according to the greatneſs or ſmallneſs, and accommodation of the ſeveral pariſhes.

2. That at that ſeſſions the churchwardens and overſeers of the poor of the reſpective pariſhes, bring in their ſeveral rates for the relief of their reſpective poor upon oath. And that the ſaid juſtices do aſſeſs three, four or five yearly pays to be levied and collected at one or two intire ſums within the time prefixed by them for the raiſing of a ſtock to ſet the poor within thoſe precincts on work, and to build or procure

procure a convenient work-houſe for employing the poor, if need be, in it, and for lodging materials, and for inſtructing children in the trade or work.

3. That there be yearly choſen by the ſaid juſtices a maſter for each work-houſe, with a convenient ſalary out of the ſaid ſtock or the proceed thereof, to continue for 3 years, and two overſeers to ſee the iſſuing and return of the ſaid ſtock, and to take the accounts quarterly or monthly of the maſter, as they ſhall think fit.

4. That the ſtock be delivered to the overſeers, and by them iſſued to the maſter, as there ſhall be occaſion, and that they alſo from time to time receive the proceed of the ſaid ſtock and the acompts for the ſame.

5. That at the end of every year the maſter and overſeers give up their accounts to the two next juſtices of the peace at times by them prefixed, and publicly notified to the inhabitants of each precinct, to the end that they may take any exceptions to ſuch accounts, if there be cauſe.

6. That the maſter and overſeers of every reſpective work-houſe ſtand and be incorporate by the name of maſter and overſeers of their reſpective precincts, and capable to take, in ſucceſſion, by will or otherwiſe, lands, goods, or money, or other legacies or gifts for the benefit of the poor, within their reſpective precincts.

7. That they alſo be accountable, as well to their reſpective ſucceſſors, and alſo to the juſtices of the peace at their quarter-ſeſſions, for the benefit and proceed and employment of ſuch gifts and bequeſts.

8. That they be diſabled to grant any lands to them given or bequeathed for any longer term than one year, and at an improved rent.

9. That if any perſon that is able to work, and not able to maintain himſelf, ſhall refuſe to do ſo, he may be forced thereunto by warrant of two juſtices of peace by impriſonment, and moderate correction in ſuch work-houſe.

10. If any perſon employed by the maſter ſhall embezzle or wilfully prejudice, or ſpoil his work, he ſhall upon complaint and proof thereof by the party grieved to any juſtice of peace, and by warrant from him, receive impriſonment or moderate correction by warrant of ſuch juſtice.

Theſe be the heads of that proviſion I could wiſh for the ſetting the poor on work, which is but an eſſay, and may receive alterations or additions upon conſideration.

The benefits, that would come by this method, would be very

very many and great: I ſhall ſet down ſome of them that occur to me.

1. By incorporating of theſe work-houſes, which are the beſt kind of hoſpitals, charitable-minded perſons would have as it were a pillar whereunto to faſten their charity, which would prevent many difficulties in the faithful adminiſtration thereof, and would invite benefactors.

2. Whereas hoſpitals provide for ſome few poor impotent people, this would prevent poverty, and in a little tract of time bring up hundreds to be able to gain their livelihoods.

3. Whereas in that ſtate that things are, our populouſneſs, which is the greateſt bleſſing a kingdom can have, becomes the burden of the kingdom, by breeding up whole races and families, and ſucceſſive generations, in a mere trade of idleneſs, thieving, begging, and a barbarous kind of life, which muſt in time prodigiouſly increaſe and overgrow the whole face of the kingdom, and eat out the heart of it: this courſe within one ſeven years alters the whole ſtate of this diſorder, and brings people and their children after them into a regular, orderly, and induſtrious courſe of life, which will be as natural to them as now idleneſs, and begging, and thieving is.

For no perſon will have need to beg or ſteal, becauſe he may gain his living better by working.

And no man will be ſo vain, and indeed hurtful to the public as to give to ſuch as beg, and thereby to encourage them, when he is ſure they may gain their living by working. And all the laws againſt vagrants, beggars and wanderers, will be then effectually put in execution, when we ay be ſure they may be employed if they will: but till that the interdicting and puniſhing of the beggars and givers, ſeems to me a moſt unreaſonable piece of imprudence as well as uncharitableneſs.

4. By this means the wealth of the nation will be increaſed, manufactures advanced, and every body put into a capacity of eating his own bread; for upon what imaginable account can we think, that we ſhould not be as able to improve our populouſneſs to our wealth, as well as Holland, and Flanders, and Barbadoes, if we had but their induſtry and orderly management; if it be ſaid, their diſpoſition is more induſtrious than ours; it is true, in that condition that matters are ordered; but, if we had the ſame induſtrious education, we ſhould have the ſame induſtrious diſpoſition: let a man, one that hath been bred up in the trade of begging, he will never,

never, unleſs compelled, fall to induſtry; and on the other ſide, it is a wonderful neceſſity indeed that ſhall bring one bred up in civility and induſtry, to beg: as is eaſily obſervable in many poor places and families.

And were there no other benefit to the kingdom in general, nor to the particular places where ſuch work-houſes ſhall be ſettled but this, although the ſtock were wholly loſt in four years, it would be an abundant recompence, by the accuſtoming the poor ſort to a civil and induſtrious courſe of life, whereby they would ſoon become not only not burdenſome, but profitable to the kingdom and places where they live.

5. By this means there would ſoon be an improvement of the ſeveral manufactures of the kingdom, both for the neceſſary conſumption of the kingdom, and for exportation, whereby our trade outward would exceed our trade inward, which outward trade, as it is the baſis and foundation of all our trade inward, and the exceſs and over-balance of our trade outward to our trade inward is the only means not only to keep our money at home, but to gain an increaſe of money, and ſo advanceth the true intrinſic wealth of the kingdom; for as of our hand, if our trade outward exceed our trade inward, the exceſs muſt of neceſſity be returned in money or bullion; ſo if our trade inward exceed our trade outward, the exceſs muſt be made good from hence in money, which muſt needs inſenſibly impoveriſh the kingdom; and experience makes us know it to be true. Now the advance of our manufactures would be by this means plainly evident; for, woollen manufactures of cloth, the ſtaple commodity of this kingdom, would be more, and theſe other woollen manufactures, as kerſies, ſerges, baize, which though now confined to ſeveral parts of the kingdom, as Devonſhire, Norfolk, Colcheſter, would be by this means diffuſed over the whole kingdom, and thoſe places which have little of woollen manufacture, as Lincolnſhire, Northamptonſhire, and other counties, would ſoon fall into it; ſo likewiſe knitting of ſtockings, caps, waiſtcoats, and the like. 2. Our linen manufactures, as linen cloth, laces of all ſorts, nets, ſails, &c. would become native, and ſupply the want of the kingdom, and prevent the neceſſity of importation of linen cloth from Holland and France, of laces from Flanders: and as this trade is in ſome degree uſed in Lancaſhire, Leiceſterſhire, and ſome other places, ſo it would be communicated to other places of the kingdom: and it is very conſiderable the numbers of poor that would be by this means employed in dreſſing of hemp and flax, ſpinning,

spinning, weaving, whitening, and the like. And if any ſhall ſay, we want the materials, and we want thoſe that ſhould inſtruct the poor in the ordering of them, the anſwer is at hand; if once the manufacture were begun to be put into a method by this way, all men would quickly ſow hemp and flax in ſome parcels of their tillage, and poſſibly ſome lands that were not ſo fit for other tillage, would be employed in this: two acres of hemp and flax in every pariſh would employ multitudes, which now people neglect to ſow becauſe they have no way to vent or employ it. And for inſtructors, when once the alarum is abroad of ſuch a deſign, it will draw over workmen from other foreign parts; and by this means we gained, or at leaſt recovered the ſkill of making woollen cloth from other parts, as appears by undeniable evidence. And if it ſhall be ſaid that this will defraud and ſtraiten us of labourers in our woollen manufactures, there can be no fear of that; for we have poor enough to be employed in both: and it is moſt certain, that the populouſneſs of the kingdom ſtill increaſeth, notwithſtanding its great exhauſtings by wars and plagues, and foreign plantations, and conſequently the poor will be proportionably increaſed, ſo that we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that in one ſeven years, by the bleſſing of God, the very proceeds that will be able and fit to work, of poor families, will be more than double to what they are now, which will continually increaſe in a kind of geometrical progreſſion, whereby there will be enough for double the employment that is now for them.

6. By the means of theſe work-houſes, there will be an opportunity for one or two perſons, ſkilled in any manufacture, to inſtruct twenty in the trades, by common reſort, meeting, and daily reſidence of children and young people there; and there may be opportunity to teach children to read, without any interruption in the employments of them that are able to teach them, or of them that are able to work.

7. By this means the yearly contributions for the neceſſary relief of poor, that are able to work, and their families, and thoſe kind of contributions which in time will be impoſſible to ſupport the poor, will be changed into a ſupply every way more eaſy for them that are to pay, though at firſt it may require a more liberal aſſiſtance for the raiſing of the ſtocks, and every way more beneficial and advantageous for the poor; firſt, becauſe they will hereby be educated and inured

to

to a way of civility and induſtry. 2. They will gain a trade, which will go along with them as the conſtant ſupport of their lives. 3. The wages that they will gain will be a greater and better ſupport than they can have by any contributions that are able to be aſſeſſed for them, for they may be able to gain, two, three, four, five, and ſix ſhillings a week, for every perſon able to work, which is five times more than their weekly or yearly contributions do or can amount unto, without exhauſting more than the revenues of the pariſhes wherein theſe poor are in many places: and this ſhall be demonſtrated to the eye of any that will conſider this inſtance, which I have exactly tried and examined, and found to be true.

The ordinary proceſs and time, and charge, of making a common courſe medly cloth of our Glouceſterſhire wool, at this day is:

1. In every ſuch cloth of about 32 yards long there is ninety pounds of wool, which will coſt at this day, at 12d. per pound, 4l. 10s. viz. ordinary in a gray cloth,

	l.	s.	d.
54lb. of abb; 34lb. of warp; 2lb. of mixture	4	10	0
2. The charge of making this cloth:			
1 Parting and picking	0	3	0
2 Colouring	0	16	0
3 Breaking and ſpinning the abb, at twopence farthing per lb.	1	7	9
4 Breaking and ſpinning the warp at 5d. per lb.	0	18	6
5 Cards and oil	1	0	0
6 Weaving, ſpooling and warping	1	1	3
7 Milling and burling	0	12	0
8 Shearing and dreſſing	0	18	0
9 Drawing	0	1	6
10 Carriage and factorage	0	7	9
So the whole charge comes to	11	15	0

Out of which, deducting the materials of wool and cards, and oil, viz. 5l. 10s. there remain entirely for the expence of work, 6l. 5s.

It is true, at this day this cloth yields not above 12l. to be ſold, which is only 5s. profit; but when trade is quicker it may yield 13l. or more.

3. The people that are employed in bringing about this cloth to be ready, are fourteen, viz. three weavers and ſpoolers, two breakers, ſix ſpinners, one fuller and burler,

one ſhear-man, one parter and picker: the weavers ſupply the office of ſpooler and warper.

4. Theſe will bring about the firſt cloth in about two months ſpace: but being continued in a conſtant track, the cloth will be brought about in three weeks time; for all the other workmen are at work, and fit the cloth for the weaver in that ſpace that he is weaving the firſt cloth.

5. Conſequently this one loom thus employed all the year round, allowing two months to the firſt cloth, and three weeks to every other, will make fourteen returns, the firſt year, of cloth ready for ſale, and ſixteen returns every year after.

6. Conſequently, that which this yields for bare wages to theſe 14 poor workmen for the firſt year is eighty-ſeven pounds ten ſhillings, and for the following years is ninety-ſeven pounds: and by this computation it is eaſy to ſee what every workman can gain a week, being fully employed.

7. About one hundred pounds ſtock will for ever keep this loom's work going, and maintain theſe fourteen workmen; and conſequently a ſtock of four hundred pounds will keep on foot four looms work; and keep on work fifty-ſix perſons, and be able to abide the ordinary delays of ſale incident to the markets.

8. But if it could be ſuppoſed that the cloth could be ſold as ſoon as made, which is not I confeſs reaſonably to be expected, then a ſtock of four-and-twenty pounds would, by its continual return, provide materials, and pay the workmen for one loom's work in perpetuity. But becauſe the returns by ſale cannot be as ſpeedy as the work is done, the ſtock muſt be near 100l. to abide the delay of a month, two, three, four, or more, in point of ſale, and likewiſe to buy wool ſeaſonably for work. And by this it appears that although one hundred pounds ſtock by its 16 returns yields but an inconſiderable advantage to the maſter, at five ſhillings per cloth, viz. but four pounds in the year, yet it yields a conſiderable advantage to the poor workers, viz. near one hundred pounds per annum; and conſequently a ſtock of four hundred pounds yields near four hundred pounds per annum. And conſequently theſe fifty-ſix poor people that are kept on work with this ſtock of four hundred pounds could not live better, if the pariſh were, at the yearly penſion of four hundred pounds per annum, to relieve them, nor indeed ſo well, conſidering they are by this means kept in a way of employment and honeſt induſtry; and yet without ſome ſupply either by wages or contribution, thoſe fifty-ſix poor people,

people, being deſtitute of wages or contributions to this value or near it, muſt live by ſtealing or begging, or ſtarve.

And let it be alſo conſidered that this ſtock, thus raiſed and ſet going, maintains itſelf by a perpetual circulation and viciſſitude, without any conſiderable help by any further ſupply, and yet perpetually countervails a contribution of near four hundred pounds per ann. for the relief of theſe fifty-ſix poor perſons.

By all which it will appear, that the advantage of a ſtock employed, and once ſet on foot, doth countervail a great contribution; and indeed greater than can be raiſed and yearly continued by moſt places; and will at laſt, in time, render thoſe yearly conſtant contributions lower and leſs needful.

9. But yet farther, by this means there will be a reaſonable gauge ſet to wages of workmen: It is not unknown how that ſome covetous maſters, in hard times, if they are well ſtocked and of abilities, will ſet on work many poor; but they muſt take ſuch wages as they are not able to live upon, and that alſo many times paid in corn, wool, cheeſe, and other things, at rates high enough: and indeed, if they will work upon theſe terms they may, but if not, they turn them off, or not employ them, and thereupon the poor workmen, not being able to live without work, and having no place to reſort for any, are under a neceſſity of working to them at inconſiderable rates. And ſuch maſters make greater advantage, by this means, when trade is low than when it is open: but by this means there would be a refuge for the poor to be employed at reaſonable wages; and the reaſon is evident, becauſe this being but an expedient, not ſo much for gain to the maſter, as for employment for the poor, as long as the ſtock makes but good itſelf, or be managed without conſiderable loſs, it attains its end, and therefore may give competent wages. But, on the other hand, the trading maſter looks for his profit; and if his ſtock turns not to him for gain, he gives over, or reduceth the workman to inconſiderable wages, that his own gain may be the greater. And although it may be there be ſome honeſt-minded and charitable maſters that will be content for ſome time to employ their ſtock, though without gain, yet they are but rare to be found, and ſuch as commonly hold not out long unleſs they find profit, though, perchance, they ſuffer no loſs.

Theſe be ſome of thoſe conſiderations that ſhew the uſefulneſs of this expedient: I ſhall now conſider ſome of the objections that may be made againſt it.

1 Obj. It is a great buſineſs to raiſe for the purpoſe four years pay, at once to make up a ſtock; and yearly contributions are more eaſy.

I anſwer, it is true; and yet the advantage, even to the objectors themſelves, is even to their ſenſe apparently great: if a man had a rent of inheritance iſſuing out of his land, he would not think much of giving ſixteen years purchaſe to buy it in: and the charge that goes out for the poor, as it is as much and as certain a charge as a rent, ſo it is evident to us that it hath increaſed yearly; and of neceſſity, the longer things are continued in this careleſs way, it muſt increaſe in an exceſſive proportion: and to give four years purchaſe to abate it, or if it were but to keep it at a ſtay, were good huſbandry. 2. Beſides this, let a man conſider what other loſſes do accrue, by the want of a due proviſion of work, and an induſtrious education for the poor, in thieving and ſtealing, and ſending ſuch malefactors to gaols at the charges of the pariſh, in proſecuting them at aſſizes and ſeſſions, in cutting and deſtroying of woods, pulling of hedges, and treſpaſſes to corn and graſs thereby, in alms-giving at the door; theſe would be, if not altogether prevented, yet, in a great meaſure they would, when that moſt unchriſtian and indeed inhuman way of living, among moſt ordinary indigent people, is remedied by convenient employment and wages.

2 Obj. But there are a ſort of idle people that will rather beg than work, though they may be employed; and ſo that trade of begging and idleneſs would be ſtill continued.

I Anſwer, 1. That we do ſurmiſe a compulſory law to enforce idle perſons to work; which would prevent it. 2. By this means, the benefit of working would exceed the benefit of begging, which would cauſe perſons to leave it. 3. By the educating of children in a way of induſtry, there would be gradually a diſaccuſtomedneſs to that way, which would in time quite remove it. But, 4. When men were once aſſured by a clear evidence, that the poor might have work upon reaſonable terms, no man would give; the laws againſt wanderers that were able to work, and againſt the relievers of ſuch, would be cheerfully put in execution, which now men, even upon the account of common charity, cannot bring themſelves to.

3 Obj. But what conſiderable advantage would ſuch a ſtock as four hundred pounds do, when perchance, in a time of trading, four or five thouſand pounds employed by maſters in a pariſh is but enough to ſet their poor on work, where it

may

may be there are two or three hundred perſons that are thus employed.

I anſwer, it would be a great help to the poor, in a time of ſcarcity of work, although it ſhould lie ſtill in a time of plenty of work. The ſupply of work, for a month, or two, or three, in a year, when traders for advantage give over, keeps induſtry on the wheels, and yields a conſiderable ſupply. 2. In good times, when there is no need of it, it is as capable of increaſe and improvement, being employed, as private men's ſtocks are, which would enlarge it, or at leaſt enable it to bear ſome loſs in times of lowneſs of trade. 3. If once ſuch a ſtock were going, it would not only increaſe by itſelf, but it would have continual acceſſion by charitable gifts, which would do five times the good thus employed, than employed as they are in doles and little yearly penſions, which conſume and come to nothing, but are ſwallowed up in the preſent neceſſity of the poor, and leave but ſmall ſigns of advantage behind them: whereas the following of the method now propounded will at leaſt leave the perſons to whom it is applied, the advantage of an induſtrious education and profeſſion, which will abide by them.

4 Obj. But men that are concerned for their own benefit in the proſecution of their trade, as for inſtance, of clothing, and conſequently more careful than perſons employed for others, yet do loſe by their trading, and many times impair their ſtocks; and therefore this, that cannot be expected to be neither ſo induſtriouſly nor ſucceſsfully managed, may be in the ſame condition.

I anſwer, 1. In general, in this way there muſt needs be one of theſe events:

1. Either there will be gain, and then it doth improve the ſtock, and lays up an advantage that may compenſate a former loſs, and enable the bearing of a future loſs. And I know no reaſon but that in this management there may be ſome times, at leaſt, of advantage, as well as in private trading. The times are not always at a ſtand in trade, but ſometimes, and moſt ordinarily, there is ſome gains in it, though not ſo much as at other times; and then the good times make amends for the bad.

2. Or elſe, though there be no gain, there will be no loſs, but it ſtands at a ſtay; and if it doth ſo, this deſign attains its end, which is the employment of the poor. Though it yields not the maſter or trader any gain, yet it yields the poor a ſubſiſtence, in their wages and work. It is true, a private tradeſman looks to gain ſo much as may at leaſt maintain himſelf and his family. And if he doth not, he gives

gives over his trading, as not anſwering his end; and it may be in ſome caſes reaſonable to do ſo: but though there be little or no gain, yet the end is attained, becauſe the poor are employed and paid, though the ſtock increaſe not.

3. Or elſe there is loſs. To this I ſay, 1. If there be loſs, yet it is but gradual, not altogether. Suppoſe it be twenty, thirty, or forty pounds in a year, in a ſtock of 400l. then by that account, this ſtock will not be wholly exhauſted in five or ſix years; and if it ſhould be ſo, yet the loſs to the pariſh would not be more than it would be if its old courſe of contribution were at the height that it would have been during the ſpending of that ſtock, which is thereby, as before is obſerved, in a great meaſure remedied. 2. Theſe decays may poſſibly be repaired by charitable gifts and bequeſts. 3. But if it were not, yet ſuch gradual decays may be ſupplied by the pariſhes with the ſame eaſe that their contribution would have been, all things conſidered; and, poſſibly, better times of trade may happen, at leaſt once in two or three years, which may repair the loſs, or at leaſt keep the ſtock at its full gauge, with ſmall helps. 4. But ſuppoſe the worſt, and that in the compaſs of three or four years the whole ſtock were wholly drawn dry; I ſay confidently, that the advantage the country would have by a courſe of induſtrious education of the poor, continued but one three or four years, will more than countervail the loſs of a very conſiderable ſtock, in preventing that trade of idleneſs which grows up in poor families, which will daily infinitely increaſe, and will receive a very great check, and poſſibly ſuch as will for ever prevent the return of ſuch a courſe of life by the interruption of a track of three or four years of employment, and will put thouſands in that track of time into a courſe of trade and livelihood, which they will carry with them all their lives after. 5. And beſides all this, it is not likely the trade will ſuffer a perpetual interruption, but even while this ſtock is in this wane and declination, private men will be trading, and then in this decay and declination of the ſtock (if it ſhould be unſupplied) there will be work at private hands, and perſons inſtructed and fitted and able to do it, which may prevent a total interruption of an induſtrious education, and may give ſome intervals of relaxation of the employment of the common ſtock, at leaſt in that fulneſs as formerly, till it be recruited by new ſupplies. 6. But yet farther. The method of the propoſed employment, though it be principally bottomed upon the trade of woollen cloathing, yet it will have other ſupplies, as is propounded; as,

making

making of kerſeys, baize, knitting of ſtockings, dreſſing and ordering of hemp and flax, and ſpinning and weaving it. And though there were no other but the woollen manufacture, yet if it ſhould pleaſe our ſuperiors to interdict the wearing of foreign manufactures, our own conſumption at home, and the neceſſity that they have in foreign parts of our woollen manufactures, would double the trade of woollen manufactures.

5. Obj. The poor have work already, if they will work; and the ſetting up ſuch a public trade will but make workmen the more independent, and decline the employment of private traders, which will tend to the decay of trade.

I anſwer, 1. It is true, when trading is quick, poſſibly they may have work enough; but upon any check in trade they are oftentimes turned off, unleſs they will work at extreme low wages, and ill paid. 2. When work is ſo plenteous at private hands, there may be an intermiſſion or relaxation of the employment of the common ſtock; eſpecially if they can have better wages at private hands; for it will be enough for this to be ſupplemental of the defects of work at others hands; and it ſufficiently attains its end, if it may be a refuge at the time of need for thoſe that would work and cannot get it, and an expedient to force thoſe to work that can and will not.

6 Obj. Poor that do their work well, and are honeſt and induſtrious, cannot want work when any is to be had in the country; and thoſe that are not employed are either ſuch as will not work, or cannot tell how to work, or will ſteal or purloin their work: theſe will undo the workhouſe.

I anſwer, 1. Sometimes there are, when the honeſteſt workmen cannot get work, and this will be a reſerve for them. 2. But as for others, here will be an expedient to teach them to work that cannot, and to compel them to work that can, and to puniſh them that are diſhoneſt in their work. 3. And if there were no puniſhment, yet when a workhouſe and ſtock is once ſettled, that would be ſufficient to make them work: for when every man were once ſure that they that would honeſtly work might have it, and reaſonable wages, every wanderer and beggar would be eſteemed ſuch a perſon as will not work, or will be diſhoneſt in it, and not fit to be relieved, but the laws to be ſeverely put in execution againſt them.

7 Obj. But where ſhall we have men that will undertake the employment, and be faithful and truſty in it?

I anſwer, 1. There be many poor and honeſt men, who, for a ſmall ſalary and a room or two to work and lodge in the workhouſe, would be fit enough to undertake the employment

ployment of a maſter; and yet he would have no great truſt upon him, for the ſtock would be lodged in the hands of the overſeers, and they to deliver it out, and take weekly or monthly accounts; which overſeers may be ſubſtantial men, and at no great trouble, and eligible either by the juſtices of peace or pariſhioners, yearly, or once in three years; and their trouble would be no greater than the trouble of overſeers of the poor, or churchwardens, in any pariſh.

And thus I have haſtily and curſorily gone through the method, reaſons, and objections of this propoſal, which I am ſure, if it can be brought to a due accompliſhment, is,

1. A work of great humanity, and ſuch as we owe to thoſe of our own nature, as we are men. The wiſe God did tell his ancient people, that the poor ſhould be always among them; which was, 1. To exerciſe their liberality and charity, in ſupplying the wants of ſome by the abundance of others. And 2. To exerciſe their diſcretion and induſtry, to think of and ſet on foot ſuch means as might put them in a courſe of honeſt employment, and encourage them in it. They that are rich are ſtewards of their wealth, and they that are wiſe are ſtewards of their wiſdom, unto that great Maſter of the family of heaven and earth, to whom they muſt give an account of both; and one, I am ſure, of the beſt accounts they can give of both, is to employ them in the reformation and relief of thoſe that want both or either. "Am I my brother's keeper?" was the anſwer of one of the worſt of men.

2. A work that as well becomes a Chriſtian as any, Chriſtianity recommending charity as one of the principal Chriſtian virtues. And indeed, the ill proviſion for the poor in England, is one of the greateſt reproaches to us in relation to our Chriſtian profeſſion.

3. A work for a good Engliſhman. The want of a due proviſion for education and relief of the poor, in a way of induſtry, is that which fills the gaols with malefactors, and fills the kingdom with idle and unprofitable perſons, that conſume the ſtock of the kingdom without improving it, and that will daily increaſe, even to a deſolation, in time: and this error in the firſt concoction is never remediable but by gibbets and whipping. But there muſt be a ſound, prudent, and reſolved method for an induſtrious education of the poor, and that will give better remedy againſt theſe corruptions than the after-gain of penalties can.

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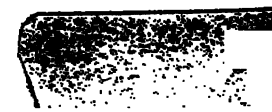
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